

618645X

Sir Francis Drake...

- 78 Drake (Sir F.) SIR FRANCIS DRAKE REVIVED; Calling upon this Dull or Effeminate Age to follow his Noble Steps for Gold and Silver, etc. [SECOND EDITION], oblong engraving on title containing Raleigh's portrait and coat-of-arms after R. Vaughan, crushed crimson morocco extra, inside dentelles, g. e. with Miller arms and monogram, by F. Bedford, FINE LARGE COPY, LARGE PAPER? (measuring $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

sm. 4to. Printed for Nicholas Bourne dwelling at the South Entrance of the Royall Exchange over Duke Court, 1628

- * * A-L in fours. THIS SECOND EDITION IS AS RARE OR RARER THAN THE FIRST. The preliminaries and the text are identical with the first but different arrangement, type and ornaments are used. The title leaves out the initials E. A. in the imprint. There is no leaf of errata, the errors being corrected in the text.

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78. DRAKE, SIR F. SIR FRANCIS DRAKE REVIVED: CALLING UPON THIS DULL OR EFFEMINATE AGE TO FOLLOW HIS NOBLE STEPS FOR GOLD AND SILVER BY THIS MEMORABLE RELATION OF THE RARE OCCURRENCES (never yet declared to the world) IN A THIRD VOYAGE, made by him into the West-Indies, in the yeares 72 & 73. When Membre de Dios was by him and fiftie two others only in his company surprised. Faithfully taken out of the Report of Mr. Christopher Geely, Ellis Hixm, and others who were in the same voyage with him. BY PHILIP NICHOLS PREACHER. Reviewed also by Sr. Francis Drake himselfe before his Death, and much holpen and enlarged by divers Notes, with his owne hand here and there inserted. Set forth by Sr. Francis Drake Baronet (his nephew) now living. Oblong engraving on title containing Raleigh's portrait and coat-of-arms after Vaughan. Small 4to, crimson crushed morocco extra, inside borders, Miller Arms in gold on sides, gilt edges, by F. BEDFORD, London. Printed for Nicholas Bourne dwelling at the South Entrance of the Royall Exchange 1628.

THE SECOND EDITION AND EQUALLY AS RARE AS THE FIRST. The Preliminary Leaves, Dedicatorie Epistle to Queen Elizabeth, and the text are identical with the First, but different arrangement types and ornaments are used, and in this reprint E A is omitted. Nor is there any leaf of Errata, the mistakes of the first Edition having been corrected in the text. UNIQUE COPY ON LARGE PAPER.

Sir Francis Drake Reuiued :

Calling vpon this Dull or Effeminate Age, to
follow his Noble steps for Gold and Siluer.

By this Memorable Relation, of the Rare occurrences
(neuer yet declared to the World) in a third Voyage, made
by him into the West-Indies, in the yeeres 72. and 73. when
Nombre de Dios was by him and fiftie two others
onely in his Companie surprised.

Faithfully taken out of the Report of *M. Christopher Ceely, Ellis.*
Hixom, and others, who were in the same Voyage with him.

By **PHILIP NICHOLS**, Preacher.

Reuiued by **SIR FRANCIS DRAKE** himselfe before his death,
and much holpen and enlarged by diuers Notes, with his owne
hand here and there Inserted.

Set forth by **SIR FRANCIS DRAKE** Baroner
(his Nephew) now liuing.



LONDON,
Printed for *Nicholas Bourne*, dwelling at the South
Entrance of the Royall Exchange, 1618.

Printed for the

Author by

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Printed for the
Author by
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the
City
of
London



TO
THE HIGH
AND MIGHTIE,
CHARLES THE FIRST,
Of Great Britaine, France and Ire-
land King : All the blessings of this,
and a better Life.

Most gracious Soueraigne :



*That this brieft Treatise is
yours, both by right and by
succession, will appeare by
the Authours and Actors en-
suing Dedication. To praise
either the Mistris or the
Seruant, might iustly in-
curre the censure of Quis
eos vnquam sanus vitu-
perauit, eithers worth hauing sufficiently blazed their
fame.*

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This

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

This Present loofeth nothing, by glancing on former Actions, and the obseruation of passed aduentures, may probably aduantage future imployments. Cæsar wrote his owne Commentaries; and this dooer was partly the Indisor: Neither is there wanting liuing testimonie to confirme its truth. For his sake then, cherish what is good, and I shall willingly entertaine checke for what is amisse. Your fauourable acceptance, may encourage my Collecting of more neglected Noates: how-euer thought Vertue (as Lands) be not inheritable, yet bath he left of his Name, one that resolues and therein joyes to approue himselfe

Your most humble

and loyall Subiect,

FRANCIS DRAKE.



The Dedicatorie Epistle intended to Q. ELIZABETH,
Written by Sir Francis Drake, Deceased.

T O

THE QUEENES MOST
Excellent Maiestie, my most
dread Soueraigne.



Adam, seeing diuers haue
diuersly reported, and
written, of these Voya-
ges and Actions which I
haue attempted & made,
euerie one endeauoring
to bring to light, what-
soever inklings or conie-
ctures they haue had;
whereby many vntruths haue beene published,
and the certain truth concealed: as I haue thought
it necessarie my selfe, as in a *Card* to picke the
principall points of the Counsailes taken, attempts
made, and successe had, during the whole course
of my employment in these seruices against the
Spaniards, not as setting Sayle, for maintaining my
reputation in mens iudgement, but only as sitting
at Helme if occasion shall be, for conducting the

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like

The Epistle to Queene ELIZABETH.

like Actions hereafter: So I haue accounted it my
duetie, to present this Discourse to your Maiestie
as of right, either for it selfe, being the first fruites
of your seruants Pen, or for the matter, being ser-
uice done to your Maiestie by your poore vassall
against your great Enemic, at such times, in such
places, and after such sort, as may seeme strange to
those, that are not acquainted with the whole car-
riage thereof: but will be a pleasing remembrance
to your Highnesse, who take the apparent height
of the Almightyes fauour towards you, by these e-
uent, as truest instruments, humbly submitting
my selfe to your Gracious censure, both in writing
and presenting: that posteritie be not deprived of
such helpe, as may happily be gained hereby, and
our present Age (at least) may be satisfied, in the
rightfulnesse of these Actions, which hitherto haue
beene silenced, and your Seruants labour not
seeme altogether lost, not onely in Trauell by Sea
and Land, but also in writing the Report thereof, a
worke to him no lesse troublesome, yet made
pleasant and sweete, in that it hath beene,
is and shall bee, for your Maiesties
content; to whom I haue de-
voted my selfe, liue
or die.

FRANCIS DRAKE,

Ann. 1. 1592.

8 A



To the courteous Reader.

Honest Reader, without Apologie, I desire thee in this ensuing Discourse, to obserue with me the power and Iustice of the Lord of Hostes, who could enable so meane a Person, to right himselfe vpon so mightie a Prince, together with the goodnesse and Prouidence of God very obserueable, in that it pleased him to raise this man, not onely from a low condition, but euen from the state of Persecution: his Father suffered in it, being forced to flye from his House (neere South Tauistocke in Deuon) into Kent, and there to inhabit in the Hull of a Ship, wherein many of his yonger Sonnes were borne: he had twelue in all, and as it pleased God to giue most of them a being vpon the Water, so the greatest part of them dyed at Sea: the yongest, who though he were as farre as any, yet dyed at home, whose posteritie inherites that, which by himselfe, and this Noble Gentleman the eldest Brother, was hardly yet worthily gotten. I could more largely acquaint thee, that this Voyage was his thirde he made into the West-Indies, after that his excellent seruice both by Sea and Land in Ireland, vnder
Walter

To the courteous Reader.

Walter Earle of Essex; his next about the World: Another wherein he tooke Saint Iago, Carthagen, Saint Domingo, Saint Augustino, his doings at Cadiz, besides the first Carricke taught by him to Sayle into England, his stirrings in Eightie seuen, his remarkable Actions in Eightie eight, his endeanours in the Portugall imployment, his last enterprise determined by death, and his filling Plimouth with a plentifull streame of fresh water; but I passe by all these, I had rather thou shouldest enquire of others, then to seeme my selfe a vaine-glorious man. I intend not his praise, I strue onely to set out the praise of his and our good God, that guided him in his truth, and protected him in his courses: my ends are to stirre thee vp to the worship of God, and seruice of our King and Countrey by his example: if any thing be worth thy consideration, conclude with me, that the Lord onely can doe great things.

Francis Drake.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
REVIVED.

Calling vpon this Dull or Effeminate
Age, to follow his Noble Steps for
Gold and Siluer.



As there is a generall vengeance,
which secretly pursueth the
doers of wrong, and suffereth
them not to prosper, albeit no
man of purpose empeach
them: so is there a particular
indignation, engrafted in the
bosome of all that are wrong-
ed, which ceaseth not seeking
by all meanes possible to re-
dresse or remedie the wrong receiued. In so much as those
great and mightie men, in whom their prosperous estate
hath bred such an ouer-weening of themselves, that they
doe not onely wrong their inferiours, but despise them be-
ing injured; seeme to take a verie vnfit course for their own
safetie, and farre vnfit for their rest. For as *Aesope* teach-
eth; euen the Fly hath her spleene, and the Emmet is not
without her choller, and both together many times finde

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meanes

meanes, whereby though the Eagle lay her egges in Iupiters lap, yet by one way or other, she escapeth not requitall of her wrong done the Emmer.

Among the manifold examples hereof, which former ages haue committed to memorie, or our time yeelded to fight: I suppose, there hath not beene any, more notable then this in hand: either in respect of the greatnesse of the person, by whom the first iniury was offered; or the meanesse of him, who righteth himself: the one being (in his owne conceit) the mightiest Monarch of all the world: the other an English Captaine, a meane subiect of her Maiesties. Who (besides the wrongs receiued at *Rio de Hacha* with Captaine *John Louell* in the yeares 65. and 66.) hauing beene greiuously indamaged at *Saint Iohn de Vllua* in the bay of *Mexico*, with Captaine *John Hawkins*, in the yeares 67. and 68. not onely in the losse of his goods of some value, but also of his kinsmen and & friends, and that by the fallshood of *Don Martin Henriquez* then the viceroy of *Mexico*, and finding that no recompence could bee recovered out of *Spaine*, by any of his owne meanes, or by her Maiesties letters: hee vsed such helpes as hee might, by two seuerall voiaages into the West Indies: the first with two Ships, the one called the Dragon, the other the Swan, in the yeare 70. the other in the Swan alone in the yeare 71. to gaine such intelligences, as might further him, to get some amends for his losse. And hauing, in those two voiaages, gotten such certaine notice of the persons & places aimed at, as he thought requisite, and there vppon with good deliberation resolued on a third voyage (the description whereof we haue now in hand) hee accordingly prepared his ships and Company, and then taking the first opportunitie of a good winde, had such successe in his proceedings, as now followes farther to be declared.

May 24.
1572.

On Whitsunday Eue being the 24. of May in the yeare 1572. Captaine *Drake* in the *Pascha* of *Plimonth* of 70 tonnes.
his

Sir Francis Drake Reuiued

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his Admirall, with the *Sm* of the same Port of 25 tonnes his Vice-Admirall; in which his brother *John Drake* was Captaine (hauing in both of them of men and boyes seauenty three, all voluntarily assembled, of which the eldest was fifty, all the rest vnder thirty) so diuided that there were forty seauen in one ship, and twenty six in the other; both richly furnished, with victualles and apparell for a whole yeare: and no lesse heedfully provided of all manner of munition, Artillery, Artificers, stoffe and tooles, that were requisite for such a Mat of warre in such an attempt, but especially hauing three dainty Pinnaces, made in *Plimouth*, taken a sunder all in peeces and stowed aboard, to be set vp as occasion serued;) set sayle from out of the Sound of *Plimouth*, with

The wind continued prosperous and favorable at North-east; and gaue vs a very good passage, without any alteration or change: so that albeit we had sight of *Porto Santo* one of the *Maderas*, and of the *Canaries* also within twelue dayes of our setting forth yet we neuer strooke sayle, nor came to anchor, nor made any stay for any cause, neither there nor else where, vntill 23. dayes after; When we had sight of the Iland of *Guadalupe*, one of the Ilands of the West Indies, goodly high land.

Iune 3.

Iune 28.

The next morning we coasted between *Dominica* & *Guadalupe*, where we descried two canoas, coming from a rocky Iland, three leagues off *Dominica*, which vsually repaire thither to fish, by reason of the great plenty thereof, which is there continually to be found. We landed on the South side of it, remaining there three daies to refresh our men, and water our ships; out of one of those goodly riuers, which fall downe, off the mountaine. There wee saw certaine poore cottages built with *Palmito* boughs and branches, but no inhabitants at that time: could not sauege; the cottages it may be, (for we could know no certaine cause of the foli-

Iune 29.

Sir Francis Drake Reuiued.

himselfe we found there) fishing, not for continuall inhabitation, but onely for their vses that came to that place at certaine seasons to fish.

July 1. The third day after, about three in the after-noon, wee set saile from thence, towards the Continent of *Terra firma*. And the fifth day after, wee had sight of the high land of

July 6. *Santa Mariha*, but came not neere the shoare by ten leagues. But thence directed our course, for a place called by vs *Port Pheasant*, for that our Captaine had so named it in his former voyage, by reason of the great store of those goodly Fowles, which he and his Company did then daily kill, and feed on, in that place. In this course, notwithstanding wee had two

July 12. dayes calme, yet within six dayes we arrived at our *Port Pheasant*, which is a fine round Bay, of verie safe harbour for all winds, lying betweene two high points, not past halfe a cables length ouer at the mouth, but within, eight or ten cables length euerie way, hauing ten or twelue sadome water, more or lesse, full of good fish, the soile also verie fruitfull; which may appeare by this, that our Captaine hauing been in this place, within a yeere and few dayes before, and hauing rid the place with many alleyes and paths made, yet now all was so ouergrowne againe, as that wee doubted at first, whether this were the same place or no.

At our entrance into this Bay, our Captaine hauing giuen order to his brother what to doe, if any occasion should happen in his absence, was on his way, with intent to haue gone a land, with some few only in his company, because hee knew there dwelt no Spanyards within thirte fye leagues of that place. *Tolu* being the neerest to the Eastwards, and *Nombre de Dios* to the westwards, where any of that Nation dwelt. But as we were rowing a shoare, we saw a smocke in the woods, euen neere the place, which our Captaine had aforetime frequented: therefore thinking it fit to take more strength with vs, he caused his other boat also to

be

Sir Francis Drake Reuiued.

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be manned with certaine muskets, and other weapons, suspecting some enimie had beene a shoare.

When wee landed, wee found by euident markes, that there had beene lately there, a certaine English man of *Plimouth*, called *John Garret*, who beene conducted thither by certaine English Mariners, which had beene there with our Captaine in some of his former voyages. He had now left a plate of Lead, nailed fast to a mightie great tree (greater then any foure men, ioyning hands, could fathome about;) on which were engraue these words, directed to our Captaine.

Captaine Drake, if you fortune to come to this Port, make hast away: For the Spaniards, which you had with you here the last yeere, haue bewrayed this place, and taken a way all that you left here. I departed from hence, this present 7. of Iuly, 1572.

Your verie louing friend

JOHN GARRET.

The smoake which wee saw, was occasioned by a fire, which the said *Garret* and his Companie, had made before their departure, in a very great tree (not farre from this which had the lead nayled on it) which had continued burning at least fise dayes before our arriuall.

This aduertisement notwithstanding, our Captaine meant not to depart, before he had built his Pinnases, which were yet aboard in peices, for which purpose he knew this Port, a most conuenient place. And therefore as soone as we had mored our Ships, our Captaine commanded his Pinnases to be brought ashore, for the Carpenters to set vp, himselfe employing all his other companie in fortifying a place, which he had chosē out as a most fit plot, of three quarters.

tars of an acre of ground, to make some strength or safetie for the present, as sufficiently as the meanes he had would afford, which was performed, by felling of great trees, and bowling and haling them together with great Pulleys and halsers, vntill they they were inclosed to the waters, and then letting others fall vpon them, vntill they had raised with trees and boughes thirtie foote in height round about, leauing onely one gate to issue at neere the waters side, which euery night (that we might sleepe in more safetie and securitie) was shut vp, with a great tree drawne arthwart it. The whole plot was built in a Pentagonall forme, to wit, of fīue equall sides and angles, of which angles two were towards the sea, and that side betweene them was left open, for the easie launcing of our Pinnases: the other foure equall sides were cholely (excepting the gate before mentioned) firmly closed vp. Without, instead of a trench, the ground was rid for fiftie foote space, round about. The rest was verie thicke with trees, of which many were of those kinds, which are neuer without greene leaues, till they are dead at the roote (excepting onely one kinde of tree amongst them, much like to our Ash, which when the sunne commeth right ouer them, causing great raines, suddainely casteth all their leaues, viz. within three dayes, and yet within sixe dayes after becomes all greene againe. The leaues of the other trees do also in part fall away, but so as the trees continue still greene notwithstanding) being of a maruelous height, and supported as it were with fīue or sixe naturall buttresses, growing out of their bodies, so farre, that three men may so be hidden in each of them, that they which shall stand in the verie next buttresse shall not be able to see them. One of them specially was marked to haue had seauen of those states or buttresses, for the supporting of his greatnesse and height, which being measured with a line close by the barke and neere to the ground, as it

was

was indented or extant, was found to be about thirtie nine yards about. The wood of those trees, is as heauie or heavier then *Brasil* or *Lignum vita*, and is in colour white.

The next day after we had arriued, there came also into that bay, an English Barke of the Ile of *Wight*, of Sir *Edward Horseyes*, wherein *James Rawse* was Captaine and *John Ouery* Master, with thirtie men; of which, some had beene with our Captaine in the same place the yeere before. They brought in with them a Spanish Caruell of *Sinell* (which he had taken the day before, athwart of that place, being a Caruell of *Adaiso* bound for *Nombre de Dios*) and also one Shallop with Oares, which he had taken at Cape *Blancke*. This Captaine *Rawse* vnderstanding our Captaines purpose, was desirous to ioyne in consort with him, and was recciued vpon conditions agreed on betweene them. Iuly 13.

Within seven dayes after his comming, hauing set vp our Pinnaces, and dispatched all our businesse, in providing all things necessarie, out of our ships into our Pinnaces: we departed from that harbrough, setting sayle in the morning towards *Nombre de Dios*, continuing our course till we came to the Iles of *Pinos*: where being within three dayes arriued, we found two Fregates of *Nombre de Dios*, lading plancke and timber from thence. Iuly 20.

The Negroes which were in those Fregates, gaue vs some particular vnderstanding of the present state of the towne: and besides, told vs that they had heard a report, that certaine souldiers, should come thither shortly, and were daily looked for, from the Gouvernor of *Panama*, and the countrey there about, to defend the towne against the *Symerons* (A blacke people, which about eightie yeeres past, fled from the *Spaniards* their Masters, by reason of their crueltie, and are since growne to an nation, vnder two Kings of their owne: the one inhabiteth to the West, th'other to the East of the way to *Nombre de Dios* to *Panama*) which had neere surprised it about sixe weekes before. Iuly 22. Our

Our Captaine willing to vse those Negroes well (not hurting himselfe) set them a shoare vpon the maine, that they might perhaps ioyne themselues to their countremen the *Symerons*, and gaine their libertie if they would, or if they would not, yet by reason of the length and troublesome-nesse of the way by land to *Nombre de Dios*, he might preuent any notice of his comming, which they should be able to giue. For hee was loath to put the towne to too much charge (which hee knew they would willingly bestow) in prouiding before hand, for his entertainment, and therefore he hastened his going thither, with as much speed and secrecie as possibly he could.

To this end, disposing of all his companies, according as they inclined most, he left the three Ships and the Caruell with Captaine *Ranfe*, and chose into his foure Pinna-ces (Captaine *Ranfes* Shallop made the fourth) besides fiftie three of our men, twentie more of Captaine *Ranfes* compa- nie, with which he seemed competently furnished, to archieue what he intended: especially hauing proportioned, according to his owne purpose, and our mens disposition, their seuerall armes. *viz.* fixe Targets, fixe Firepikes, twelue Pikes, twentie foure Muskets and Calliuers, six- teene Bowes, and fixe Partizans, two Drums, and two Trumpets.

July 28.

Thus hauing parted from our companie: we arrived at the Iland of *Catinaas*, being twentie five leagues distant; about five dayes after, there we landed all in the morning betimes: and our Captaine trained his men deliuering them their seuerall weapons and armes, which hitherto he had kept verie saie and safe in good caske: and exhorting them after his manner, he declared the greatnesse of the hope of good things that was there: the weakenesse of the towne being vnwalled, and the hope he had of preuailing, to recompence his wrongs, especially now that he should come with

with such a crew, who were like minded with him selfe; and at such a time, as he should be vtterly vndiscovered.

Therefore euen that afternoone, hee causeth vs to set saile for *Nombre de Dios*, so that before Sunne set we were as farre as *Rio Francisco*: thence hee led vs hard aboard the shore (that we might not be descried of the watch-house) vntill that being come within two leagues of the point of the Bay, he caused vs to strike a hull, and cast our grappes, riding so vntill it was darke night.

Then we waighed againe and set saile, rowing hard aboard the shore, with as much silence as we could; till we recovered the point of the harbour vnder the high land: there we stayed all silent, purposing to attempt the towne in the dawning of the day, after that we had reposed our selues for a while.

But our captaine with some others of his best men, finding that our people were talking of the greatnesse of the towne, and what their strength might be, especially by the report of the Negroes that we tooke in the Ile of *Pinos*: thought it best to put these conceits out of their heads, and therefore to take the opportunitie of the rising of the Moone that night, perswading them that it was the day dawning. By this occasion we were at the Towne a large houre sooner then first was purposed. For we arrived thereby three of the clocke after midnight: at what time it fortunèd that a ship of *Spaine*, of sixtie tunnes, laden with Canarie wines and other commodities, which had but lately come into the Bay, and had not yet furl'd her sprit-saile, espying our foure Pinnaces, being an extraordinarie number, and those rowing with many Oares, sent away her Gundeloe towards the Towne, to giue warning: but our Captaine perceiuing it, cut betwixt her and the Towne, forcing her to goe to th'other side of the Bay: whereby wee landed without impeachment, al-

C

though

though we found one Gunner vpon the Platforme, in the verie place where we landed, being a sandy Bay and no Key at all, not past twentie yards from the houses.

There we found six great Peeces of brasfe Ordnance, mounted vpon their Carriages, some Demy, some whole Culuering: we presently dismounted them, the Gunner fled, the Towne tooke alarme (being verie readie thereto, by reason of their often disquieting, by their neere neighbors the *Symerons*) as we perceiued, not only by the noyse and cries of the people, but by the Bell ringing out, and Drums running vp and downe the Towne.

Our Captaine, according to the Directions which hee had giuen ouer night, to such as hee had made choyce of for the purpose, left twelue to keepe the Pinnaces, that we might be sure of a safe retreat, if the worst befell. And hauing made sure work of the Platform before he would enter the Towne, hee thought best, first to view the Mount, on the East side of the Towne, where he was informed, by sundry intelligences the yeere before, they had an intent to plant Ordnance, which might scowre round about the Towne. Therefore leauing one halfe of his company, to make a stand at the foot of the Mount, he marched vp presently vnto the top of it, with all speed, to try the truth of the report for the more safetie. There wee found no peece of Ordnance, but onely a verie fit place prepared for such vse, and therefore we left it without any of our men, and with all celeritie returned downe the Mount. Then our Captaine appointed his brother, with *Iohn Oxnam* and sixteene other of his men, to goe about behinde the Kings treasure-house, and enter neere the Easter end of the market place: himselfe with the rest, would passe vp the broad street, into the market place, with sound of Drum and Trumper,

The Firepikes diuided halfe to the one, and halfe to the other

other company, serued no lesse for fright to the enemy, then light of our men, who by this means might discerne euerie place verie well, as if it were neere day, whereas the inhabitants stood amazed at so strange a sight, maruelling what the matter might be, and imagining, by reason of our Drums and Trumpets sounding in so sundry places, that we had beene a farre greater number then we were.

Yet by meanes of the Souldiers, which were in the Towne, and by reason of the time which wee spent in marching vp and downe the Mount, the Souldiers and the Inhabitants had put themselves in armes, and brought their companies in some order, at the South-east end of the market-place, neere the Gouvernours house, and not farre from the gate of the Towne, which is only one, leading towards *Panama*, hauing (as it seems) gathered themselves thither, either that in the Gouvernours sight they might shew their valour, if it might preuaile, or else that by the gate, they might best take their *Vale*, and escape readiest.

And to make a shew of farre greater numbers of shot, or else of a custome they had, by the like device to terrifie the *Symonians*, they had hung lines with matches lighted, ouerthwart the Wester-end of the market-place, betweene the Church and the Crosse, as though there had beene in a readinesse some company of shot, whereas indeed there was not past two or three that taught these lines to dance, till they themselves ran away, as soone as they perceiued they were discovered.

But the Souldiers, and such as were joyned with them, presented vs with a jolly hot volley of shot, beating full vpon the egressse of that street, in which we marched, and leuelling verie low, so as their bullets oft times grazed on the sand. We stood not to answer them in like tearmes; but hauing discharged our first volley of shot, and fea-

thered them with our arrowes (which our Captaine had caused to be made of purpose in *England*, not great sheafe arrowes, but fine rowing shafts, very carefully reserued for the seruice) we came to the push of pike, so that our fire-pikes being well armed and made of purpose, did vs very great seruice. For our men with their Pikes and short weapons, in short time tooke such order among these Gallants, some vsing the but-end of their Peeces in stead of other weapons, that partly by reason of our arrowes, which did vs there notable seruice, partly by occasion of this strange and suddaine closing with them, in this manner vnlooked for, and the rather for that at the very instant, our Captaines brother, with the other Company, with their fire-pikes, entred the market place by the easter street: they casting downe their weapons, fled all out of the Towne by the gate aforesaid, which had beene built for a barre to keepe out of the Towne the *Symerons*, who had often assailed it, but now serued for a gap for the Spaniards to flye at.

In following and returning, diuers of our men were hurt, with the weapons which the enemy had let fall as hee fled: somewhat, for that we marched with such speed, but more for that they lay so thicke and crosse on the other.

Being returned, we made our stand neere the midst of the market place, where a tree groweth hard by the crosse; whence our Captaine sent some of our men to stay the ringing of the alarme Bell, which had continued all this while: but the Church being very strongly built and fast shut, they could not without firing (which our Captaine forbad) get into the steeple where the Bell hung.

In the meane time, our Captaine hauing taken two or three Spaniards in their flight, commanded them to shew them the Gouvernours house, where he vnderstood

stood was the ordinarie place of unlading the Moyles, of all the treasure which came from *Panamah* by the Kings appointment: Although the siluer onely was kept there: the gold, pearle and iewels (being there once entred by the Kings Officer) was carried from thence to the Kings treasure-house not farre off, being a house very strongly built of lime and stone, for the safe keeping thereof.

At our comming to the Gouvernours house, we found the great doore (where the Moyles do vsually unlade) euen then opened a Candle, lighted vpon the top of the stayers; and a faire Gennet readie saddled, either for the Gouvernour himselfe, or some other of his household to carry it after him. By meanes of this light, we saw a huge heape of siluer, in that nether roome: being a pile of barres of siluer, of (as neere as we could guesse) seuentie foote in length, of ten foot in breadth; and twelue foot in height, piled vp against the wall, each barre was betweene thirty five and fortie pound in weight. At sight hereof our Capitaine commanded straightly that none of vs should touch a barre of siluer, but stand vpon our weapons, because the Towne was full of people, and there was in the Kings treasure-house neere the waters side, more gold & iewels then all our foure Pinnaces would carrie, which we would presently set some in hand to breake open, notwithstanding the Spaniards reports of the strength of it.

We were no sooner returned to our strength, but there was a report brought by some of our men, that our Pinnaces were in danger to be taken, and that if we our selues got not aboard before day, wee should be opprest with multitudes both of Souldiers and townes-people. This report had his ground from one *Diego a Negro*, who in the time of the first conflict, came and called to our Pinnaces, to know whether they were Capitaine *Drakes*? and vpon answer receiued, continued intreating to be taken aboard

(though he had first three or foure shot made at him) vntill at length they fetcht him; and learned by him, that not past eight dayes before our arriuall the King had sent thither some hundred and fiftie Souldiers to guard the Towne against the *Symerans*, and the Towne at this time was full of people besides: which, all the rather beleueed, because it agreed with the report of the Negroes, which we tooke before at the Ile of *Pinas*: and therefore our Captaine sent his brother and *Iohn Oxnam* to vnderstand the truth thereof. They found our men, which we left in our Pinnaces, much frighted; by reason that they saw great Troopes and companies running vp and downe, with matches light, some with other weapons; crying *Que gente? que gente?* which hauing not bene at the first conflict but comming from the vtter ends of the towne (being at least as bigge as *Plimouth*) came many times neere vs, and vnderstanding that we were English, discharged their peeces and ran away.

Presently after this, a mightie shower of raine, with a terrible storme of thunder and lightning, fell, which powdered downe so vehemently (as it vsually doth in those Countreies) that before we could recover the shelter of a certaine shade or pent-house, at the West end of the Kings treasure-house (which seemeth to haue bene built there of purpose to auoid Sunne and raine) some of our bow-strings were wet, and some of our match and powder hurt: which while wee were carefull of to refurbish and supply; diuers of our men, harping on the reports lately brought vs, were muttering of the Forces of the Towne, which our Captaine receiuing, told them, that he had brought them to the mouth of the treasure of the world, if they would want it, they might hencefoorth blame no bodie but themselves. And therefore as soone as the storme beganne to assuage of his furie (which was

a long halfe houre) willing to giue his men no longer leasure to deniure of those doubts, nor yet allow the Enemy farther respite to gather themselves together: hee stept forward, commanding his brother, with *Iohn Oxnam* and the Companie appointed them, to breake the Kings Treasure-house; the rest to follow him, to keepe the strength of the market place, till they had dispatched the businesse for which they came.

But as hee stept forward, his strength and sight and speech failed him, and hee began to faint for want of blood, which as then we perceiued, had, in greate quantitie, issued vpon the sand, out of a wound receiued in his legge in the first incounter, whereby though hee felt some paine, yet (for that he perceiued diuers of the Company, hauing already gotten many good things, to be very readie to take all occasions, of winding themselves out of that conceited danger) would hee not haue it knowie to any, till this his fainting, against his will, bewrayed it; the blood hauing first filled the verie prints which our foot-steps made, to the great dismay of all our Company, who thought it not credible, that one man should be able to spare so much blood and liue.

And therefore euen they, which were willingest to haue aduentured most, for so faire a bootie, would in no case hazard their Captaines life; but (hauing giuen him, somewhat to drinke wherewith he recovered himselfe, and hauing bound his Scarfe about his legge, for the stopping of the blood) entreated him to be content to go with them aboard, there to haue his wound searched and drest, and then to returne a shoare againe if he thought good.

This when they could not perswade him vnto (as who knew it vterly) impossible, at least verie vnlikely, that euer they should (for that) returne againe, to recover the

state.

state in which they now were: and was of opinion, that it were more honourable for himselfe, to iopard his life for so great a benefit, then to leaue off so high an enterprise vnperformed: they ioyned altogether, and with force mingled with faire intreatie, they bare him aboard his Pinnace, and so abandoned a most rich spoile for the present, onely to preserue their Captaines life, as being resolu'd of him, that while they enioyed his presence, and had him to command them, they might recouer wealth sufficient; but if once they lost him, they should hardly be able to recouer home, no not with that which they had gotten already.

July 29.

Thus we embarqued by breake of the day, hauing besides our Captaine, manie of our men wounded, though none slaine but one Trumpeter: whereupon though our Chyrurgeons were busily employed, in providing remedies and salues for their wounds: yet the maine care of our Captaine was respected by all the rest; so that before we departed out of the Harbour for the more comfort of our Companie, wee tooke the aforesaid Ship of Wines without great resistance. But before wee had her free off the Heauen, they of the Towne had made meanes to bring on of their Culuerins, which we had dismounted, so as they made a shot at vs, but hindered not vs from carrying forth the prize to the Ile *Bastimientes*, or *The Ile of Visuales*; which is an Island that lieth without the Bay to the Westwards, about a league off the Towne, where we stayed the two next dayes, to cure our wounded men, and to refresh our selues, in the goodly Gardens which we there found, abounding with great store of all daintie rootes and fruites, besides great plentie of Poulterie and other Fowles, no lesse strange then delicate.

Shortly vpon our first arriual in this Island, the Gouernour and the rest of his assistants in the Towne (as we after-

afterwards vnderstood) sent vnto our Captaine a proper Gentleman of meane stature, good complexion, and faire spoken, a principall Souldier of the late sent Garrison, to view in what state wee were. At his coming he protested he came to vs of meere good will, for that wee had attempted, so great and incredible a matter with so few men: and that at the first they feared that we had beene French, at whose hands they knew they should find no mercie: but after they perceiued by our Arrowes, that wee were Englishmen, their feares were the lesse, for that they knew, that though wee tooke the Treasure of the place, yet wee would not vse crueltie towards their persons.

But albeit this his affection gaue him cause enough, to come aboard such, whose vertues he so honoured, yet the Gouvernour also had not only consented to his coming, but directly sent him, vpon occasion that diuers of the Towne affirmed (said he) that they knew our Captaine, who the last two yeeres had beene often on their Coast, and had alwayes vsed their persons very well. And therefore desired to know, first, whether our Captaine were the same Captaine *Drake* or no? and next, because many of their men were wounded with our Arrowes, whether they were poysoned or no? And how their wounds might best bee cured? Lastly, what victuals wee wanted, or other necessaries? Of which the Gouvernour promised by him to supply and furnish vs, as largely as hee durst. Our Captaine although hee thought this Souldier but a Spie: yet vsed him very courteously, and answered him to his Gouvernours demands. That he was the same *Drake* whom they meant: it was neuer his manner to poyson his Arrowes: they might cure their wounded by ordinary Chirurgerie: as for wants he knew the Island of *Baslimis* had sufficient, and could furnish him if he listed: but

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he wanted nothing but some of that speciall commodity, which that Countrey yeelded, to content himselfe and his Company. And therefore he aduised the Governour to hold open his eyes, for before hee departed, if God lent him life and leaue, hee meant to reape some of their Harvest, which they get out of the Earth, and send into *Spainne* to trouble all the Earth.

To this answer vnlooked for, this Gentleman replied: If he might without offence moue such a question, what should then bee the cause of our departing from that Towne at this time, where was aboue three hundred and fixtie Tun of siluer readie for the Fleet, and much more Gold in value, resting in Iron Chests in the Kings Treasure house? But when our Captaine had shewed him the true cause of his vnwilling rerreate aboard; he acknowledged, that wee had no lesse reason in departing, then courage in attempting: and no doubt did easily see, that it was not for the Towne to seeke reuenge of vs, by manning forth such Frigates or other vessels, as they had: but better to content themselves and provide for their owne defence.

Thus with great fauour and courteous entertainment; besides such gifts from our Captaine as most contented him: after dinner he was in such sort dismissed, to make report of that he had seene; that he protested, hee was neuer so much honoured of any in his life.

After his departure, the Negroe fore-mentioned, being examined more fully; confirmed this report of the Gold and Siluer, with many other intelligences of importance, especially how we might haue Gold and Siluer enough if wee would, by meanes of the *Symeyons*, whom though he had betrayed diuers times (being vsed thereto by his Masters): so that hee knew they would kill him, if they gat him: yet if our Captaine would vndertake his protection,

protection, he durst aduventure his life, because he knew our Captaines name was most pretious and highly honoured of them.

This report ministred occasion to further consultation: for which, because this place seemed not the safest; as being neither the healthiest nor quietest. The next day in the morning we all set our course for the Ile of *Pinnos* or *Port Plentie*, where we had left our Ships, continuing all that day, and the next, till towards night before we recovered it. We were the longer in this course, for that our Captaine sent away his brother and *Ellis Hixon* to the westward, to search the Riuer of *Chagro*, where himselfe had beene the yeere before, and yet was carefull to gaine more notice of: it being a Riuer which tendeth to the Southward, within six leagues of *Panamah*, where is a little towne called *Venta Cruz*, whence all the treasure, that was vsually brought thither from *Panamah* by Moyles, was imbarqued in Frigates, downe the Riuer into the North sea, and so to *Nombre de Dios*. It ebberth and floweth not farre into the land, and therefore it asketh three dayes rowing with a fine Pinnace to passe from the mouth to *Venta Cruz*, but one day and a night serueth to returne downe the Riuer.

At our returne to our Ships, in our consultation, Captaine *Rause* forecasting diuers doubts, of our safe continuance vpon that coast, being now discovered, was willing to depart: and our Captaine no lesse willing to dismisse him: and therefore as soone as our Pinnaces returned from *Chagro*, with such aduertisements as they were sent for, about eight dayes before: Captaine *Rause* tooke his leaue, leauing vs in the Ile aforesaid, where we had remained five or six dayes. In which meane time, hauing put all things in a readinesse, our Captaine resolved, with his two Ships and three Pinnaces to goe to

August 1.

August 7.

Carthagene, whither in sayling we spent some fixe dayes, by reason of the calmes which came often vpon vs: but all this time we attempted nothing that wee might haue done by the way, neither at *Tolon*, nor otherwhere, because we would not be discovered.

August.

We came to anchor with our two ships in the euening in seuen sadome water, betweene the Ilands of *Charesha* and *Saint Barnards*: our Captaine led the three Pinnaces, about the Iland, into the Harbour of *Carthagene*; where at the very entry, hee found a Frigate at anchor, aboard which was onely one old man; who being demanded, where the rest of his company was? answered, that they were gone ashore in their Gundeloe that euening, to fight about a Mistris: and voluntarily related to our Captaine that two houres before night, there past by them a Pinnace, with Sayle and Oares, as fast as euer they could row, calling to him, whether there had not beene any *English* or *Frenchmen* there lately? And vpon answer that there had beene none: they bid them looke to themselves: that within an houre, that this Pinnace was come to the vtterside of *Carthagene*, there were many great Peeeces shot off, whereupon one going to top, to descry what might be the cause? Espied, ouer the Land, diuers Frigates and small shipping, bringing themselves within the Castle.

This report our Captaine credited, the rather, for that himselfe had heard the report of the Ordnance, at Sea, and perceiued sufficiently, that hee was now descryed: notwithstanding, in farther examination, of this olde Mariner, hauing vnderstood, that there was, within the next point, a great ship of *Siuell*, which had here discharged her loding, and rid now with her yards acrosse, being bound the next morning for *saint Domingo*: our Captaine tooke this old man into his Pinnace to verifie that

that which he had informed, and rowed towards this Ship, which as we came neere it, hailed vs, asking whence our Shallops were? we answered, from *Nombre de Dios*: straight way they railed and reuiled: we gaue no heed to their words: but euery Pinnace, according to our Capitaines order: one on the starboord bough, the other on the starboord quarter, and the Captaine in the midship on the starboord lide, forthwith boarded her, though wee had some difficultie to enter, by reason of her height, being of two hundred fortie Tunne. Bur as soone as we entred vpon the decks, we threw downe the gates and spardecks, to preuent the *Spaniards* from annoying vs with their close fights: who then perceiuing that we were possessed of their Ship, stowed themselues all in hold with their weapons, except two or three yonkers, who were found afore the beetes: when hauing light out of our Pinnaces, we found no danger of the enemie remaining, we cut their Cables at halfe, and with our three Pinnaces, towed her without the Iland, into the sound right afore the Towne, without danger of their great shot.

Meane while the Towne hauing intelligence hereof, by their watch, tooke th'alarme, rung out their Bels, shot off about thirtie Peeeces of great Ordinance, put all their men in a readinesse horse and foote, came downe to the very point of the wood, and discharged their Caliuers, to impeach vs if they might in going forth.

The next morning our Ships tooke two Frigates, in which were two, who called themselues the Kings *Scriuanos*, the one of *Carthagene*, th'other of *Veragua*, with feuen Marriners and two Negroes: who had beene at *Nombre de Dios* and were now bound for *Cathagene*, with double letters of aduise, to certifie them that Captaine Drake had beene at *Nombre de Dios*, had taken it, and had it not beene that hee was hurt with some blessed shot, by all

Aug. 14.

likelihood he had sackt it: he was yet still vpon the Coast: they should therefore carefully prepare for him.

After that our Captaine had brought all his fleet together: at the *Seruanos* entreaties, he was content to doe them all fauour, in setting them and all their companies alhoare; and so bare thence with the Ilands of Saint *Bernards*, about three leagues off the towne: were we found great store of fish for our refreshing.

Here our Captaine considering that he was now discovered, vpon two of the cheefest places of all the Coast, and yet not meaning, to leaue it, till hee had found the *Simrons*, and made his voyage, as hee had conceiued, which would require some length of time, and sure manning of his Pinnaces, hee determined with himselfe, to burne one of his Ships; and make of the other a storehouse, that his Pinnaces (which could not otherwise) might be thoroughly man'd, and so hee might be able to abide any time. But knowing the affection of his company, how loath they were to leaue either of their Ships, being both so good Saylers and so well furnillied, hee purposed in himselfe by some policie, to make them most willing to effect that he intended. And therefore sent for one *Thomas Moone* (who was Carpenter in the *Swanne*) and taking him into his Cabin, chargeth him to conceale for a time, a piece of seruice, which he must in any case consent to doe aboard his owne Ship: that was, in the middle of the second watch, to go downe secretly into the well of the Ship, and with a great spike-gimlet, to boare three hoales, as neere the keele as hee could, and lay something against it, that the force of the water entering, might make no great noise, nor be discovered by boyling vp: *Thomas Moone* at the hearing hereof being vtterly dismaied, desired to know what cause there might be, to moue him to sincke so good a Barke,

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of his owne, new, and strong, and that by his meanes, who had beene in two so rich and gainefull voyages in her with himselfe heretofore: If his brother, the Master, and the rest of the company should know of such his fact, he thought verily they would kill him. But when our Captaine had imparted to him his causes, and had perswaded him with promise that it should not be knowne, till all of them should be glad of it: he vndertooke it, and did it accordingly.

The next morning our Captaine tooke his Pinnace *August 15.* verie early, purposing to go a fishing (for that there is verie great store in all the Coast) and falling a boord the Swanne, calleth for his brother to go with him, who rising suddenly, answereth that he would follow presently, or if it would please him to stay a verie little, he would attend him. Our Captaine precciuing the feate wrought, would not hasten him, but in rowing away, demanded of them, why their Barke was so deepe? as making no account of it: but by occasion of this demand, his brother sent one downe to the Steward to know whether there were any water in the Ship? or what other cause might be? The Steward hastily stepping downe at his vsuall skuttle, was wet vp to the waste, and shifting with more haste to come vp againe as if the water had followed him, cryed out that the Ship was full of water. There was no neede to hasten the companie, some to pumpe, others to search for the leake, which the Captaine of the Barke seeing they did on all hands verie willingly, he followed his brother, and certified him of the strange chance befallne them that night; that whereas they had not pumpr twice in sixe weekes before, now they had sixe foote water in hold: therefore he desired leave from attending him in fishing, to intend the

the search and remedie of the leake: and when our Captaine with his companie profered to go to helpe them, he answered, they had men enough aboard, and prayed him to continue his fishing, that they might haue some part of it for their dinner. Thus returning, he found his companie had taken great paines, but had freed the water verie little: yet such was their loue to the Barke (as our Captaine well knew) that they ceased not, but to the utmost of their strength, laboured all that they might till thre in the afternoone: by which time, the companie perceiuing, that though they had beene relieved by our Captaine himselfe and many of his companie, yet they were not able to free aboue a foote and a halfe of water, and could haue no likelihood of finding the leake, had now a lesse liking of her then before, and greater content to heare of some means for remedie: whereupon our Captaine consulting with them what they thought best to bee done: found that they had more desire to haue all as hee thought fit, then iudgement to conceiue any meanes of remedie. And therefore he propounded, that himselfe would goe into the Pinnace, till hee could prouide some handsome Frigate, and that his brother should be Captaine in the admirall, and the Master should also be there placed with him, instead of this: which seeing they could not saue, he would haue fired, that the enemy might neuer recouer her: but first all the Pinnaces should be brought aboard her, that every one might take out of her whatsoever they lackt or liked. This, though the company at the first marueiled at, yet presently it was put in execution and performed that night: our Captaine had his desire, and men enough for his Pinnaces.

Aug. 16.

The next morning, we resolved to seeke out some fit plaue, in the sound of *Dorrienne*, where we might safely leane our Ship at Ancor, not discouerable by the enemy,
who

who thereby might imagine vs quite departed from the Coast, and we the meane time better follow our purposes with our Pinnaces; of which our Captaine would himselfe take two to *Rio Grande*, and the third leaue with his brother to seeke the *Symmons*.

Vpon this resolution, we set saile presently for the sayd *Aug. 21.* Sound, which within five dayes we recovered; absteining of purpose; from all such occasion as might hinder our determination, or bewray our being vpon the Coast. As soone as we arriued, where our Captaine intended, and had chosen a fit and conuenient road (out of all trade) for our purpose; we reposed our selsaes there, for some fiftene dayes, keeping our selues close, that the bruite of our being vpon the Coast might cease.

But in the meane time wee were not idle: for besides such ordinarie workes, as our Captaine euerie moneth did vsually inure vs to, about the trimming and fitting of his Pinnaces; for their better sailing and rowing: hee caused vs to rid a large plot of ground, both of Trees and Brakes and to build vs houses, sufficient for all our lodgings; and one especially for all our publique meetings, wherein the Negro which fled to vs before did vs great service, as being well acquainted with the Countrey, and their meanes of building. Our Archers made themselves Butts to shoot at, because wee had many that delighted in that Exercise, and wanted not a Fletcher to keepe our Bowes and Arrowes in order. The rest of the company, euerie one as hee liked best, made his disport at Bowles, Quoits, Keiles, &c. For our Captaine allowed one halfe of their company to passe their time thus, euerie other day interchangeably, the other halfe being enioyned to the necessarie workes, about our Ship and Pinnaces, and the prouiding of fresh victuall, Fish, Fowle, Hogs, Deere, Conies, &c. whereof there is great

plentie. Here our Smiths set vp their Forge, as they were furnished out of *England* with Anvill, Iron, Coales, and all manner of necessities, which stood vs in great stead.

Septem. 5.

At the end of these fiftene dayes, our Captaine leauing his Ship in his brothers charge, to keepe all things in order, himselfe tooke with him, according to his former determination, two Pinnaces for *Rio Grand*, and passing by *Carthagene*, but out of sight, when wee were within

Septem. 8.

two leagues of the Riuer, wee landed to the Westwards on the maine, where we saw great flocks of Cattle. There we found some Indians, who asking vs in friendly sort, in broken *Spanish*, what we would haue, and vnderstanding that we desired fresh victuals in traffique; they tooke such Cattle for vs, as we needed, with ease and so readily, as if they had a speciall commandment ouer them, whereas they would not abide vs to come nere them: And this also they did willingly, because our Captaine (according to his custome) contented them for their paines, with such things as they account greatly of, in such sort that they promised, wee should haue these of them at any time, what we would.

The same day we departed thence to *Rio Grand*, where wee entred about three of the clocke in the after-noon. There are two entrings into this Riuer, of which wee entred the Westermost called *Bocachica*. The freshest of this Riuer is so great, that we being halfe a league from the mouth of it, filled fresh water for our beuerage.

From three a clocke till darke night we rowed vp the streame, but the current was so strong downewards, that wee got but two leagues all that time. Wee moored our Pinnaces to a tree that night: for that presently with the closing of the euening, there fell a monstrous shower of raine, with such strange and terrible claps of thunder, and flashes.

flashes of lightning, as made vs, not a little to maruell at, although our Captaine had beene acquainted with such like in that Countrey, and told vs that they continue seldom longer then three quarters of an houre. This storme was no sooner ceast, but it became verie calme, and there-with there came such an innumerable multitude, of a kind of flies of that Countrey called *Muskitos* (like our Gnats) which bite so spitefully, that wee could not rest all that night, nor finde meanes to defend our selues from them, by reason of the heat of the Countrey: the best remedy we then found against them, was the iuyce of Lymons.

At the breake of day we departed, rowing in the eddy, and haling vp by the trees where the eddy failed, with great labour, by spels, without ceasing, each company their halfe houre glasse, without meeting any, till about three a clock after noone, by which time we could get but five leagues a head. Then we espied a Canow with two Indians fishing in the Riuer; but we spake not to them, lest so we might be descryed: nor they to vs, as taking vs to be Spanyards. But within an houre after we espied certaine houses on the other side of the Riuer, whose channel is twentie five fathome deepe, and his bredth so great, that a man can scantly be discerned from side to side. Yet a Spanyard which kept those houses, had espied our Pinnaces, and thinking we had been his Country-men, made a smoake; for a signall to turne that way, as being desirous to speake with vs. After that, we espying this smoak, had made with it, and were halfe the Riuer ouer, he wheaued vs with his hat, and his long hanging sleeues to come a shoare: But as we drew neerer vnto him, hee discerned that we were, not those he looked for, he took his heeles, & fled from his houses, which we found to be five in number, all full of white Ruste, dried Bacon, that Country Cheese (like Holland Cheese in fashion), but farre more delicate

Septem. 9.

in taste, of which they send into *Spaine* as speciall Presents) many sorts of sweet meats, and Conserues, with great store of sugar, being prouided to serue the Fleet returning to *Spaine*.

With this store of victuals we loaded our Pinnaces, and by the shutting in of the day we were ready to depart; for that wee hastned the rather, by reason of an intelligence giuen vs by certaine Indian Women which wee found in those houses: that the Frigates (these are ordinarily thirtie, or vpwards, which vsually transport the merchandise sent out of *Spaine* to *Carthagene*, from thence to these houses, and so in great Canoas vp hence into *Nueva Reyno*, for which, the Riuer running many hundred leagues within the land, serueth verie fitly, and returne in exchange, the gold and treasure, siluer, victuals and commodities, which that Kingdome yeeldeth abundantly:) were not yet returned from *Carthagene*, since the first alarm they tooke of our being there.

Sept. 10.

As wee were going aboard our Pinnaces from these Store-houses, the Indians of a great Towne called *Villa del Rey*, some two miles distant from the waters side where wee landed, were brought downe by the *Spaniards* into the bushes, and shot their arrowes; but we rowed downe the streame, with the current (for that the winde was against vs) onely one league, and because it was night, anchored till the morning, when wee rowed downe to the mouth of the Riuer, where wee vnladed all our provisions, and clenfed our Pinnaces, according to our Capitaines custome, and tooke it in againe, and the same day went to the Westward.

In this returne we descried a Ship, a Barke, and a Frigate, of which the Ship and Frigate went for *Carthagene*, but the Barke was bound to the Northwards, with the winde Easterly, so that wee imagined shee had some gold

gold or treasure going for *Spain*; therefore we gaue her chase, but taking her, and finding nothing of importance in her, vnderstanding that she was bound for Sugar and Hides, we let her goe, and hauing a good gale of winde, continued our former course to our Ship and company.

In the way betwene *Carthagene* and *Tolon*, wee tooke *Sept. 11.* five or sixe Frigates, which were laden from *Tolon* with liue Hogs, Hens and Maiz, which we call Gynnie wheate: of these hauing gotten what intelligence they could giue, of their preparations for vs, and diuers opintone of vs, was dismissed all the men, onely staying two Frigates with vs because they were so well stored with good victualls.

Within thtee dayes after we arrived at the place which our Captaine chole at first to leaue his Ship in, which was called by our Companie *Port-plentie*, by reason wee brought in thither continually all manner store of good victualls, which we tooke going that way by Sea; for the victualling of *Carthagene* and *Nombre de Dios*, as also the Fleetes going & comming out of *Spain*: so that if we had beene two thousand, yea three thousand persons, wee might with our Pinnaces easily haue provided them sufficient victuall of Wine, Meale, Ruske, Cassauy, (a kinde of Bread made of a roote called *Yucca*, whose iuyce is poyson, but the substance good and wholesome) dried Beefe, dried Fish, liue Sheepe, liue Hogs, abundance of Hens, besides the infinite store of daintie fresh very easily to be taken euery day. Insomuch that be were forced to build foure seuerall Magazines or store-houses, some tenne, some twentie leagues a sunder, some in Ilands, some in the maine, providing our selues in diuers places, that though the Enemy should with force surprise any one, yet we might be sufficiently furnished, till we had made our voyage as wee did hope. In building of these, our Negroes helpe was very much, as hauing a

speciall skill, in the speedy erection of such houses. This our shore was such, as thereby we releued, not onely our selues and the *Symerons*, while they were with vs, but also two French Ships in extreme want. For in our absence Captaine *Iohn Drake* hauing one of our Pinnaces as was appointed, went in with the maine, and as he rowed a tosse the shore, where he was directed by *Diego* the Negroe aforesaid, which willingly came vnto vs at *Nombre de Dios*, hee espied certaine of the *Symerons*, with whom he dealt so effectually, that in conclusion he left two of our men with their Leader, and brought aboard two of theirs: agreeing that they should meete him againe the next day, at a River midway betweene the *Cabezas* and our Ships, which they named *Rio Diego*.

These two being very sensible men, chosen out by their Commander, did with all reuerence and respect, declare vnto our Captaine, that their Nation conceiued great ioy of his arriuall, because they knew him to be an enemy to the *Spaniards*, not onely by his late being in *Nombre de Dios*, but also by his former voyages, and therefore were ready to assist and fauour his enterprises against his and their Enemies to the vttermost: and to that end their Captaine and Companie, did stay at this present neere the mouth of *Rio Diego*, to attend what answer and order should be giuen them: that they would haue marched by land, euen to this place, but that the way is verie long, and more troublefome, by reason of many steepe Mountaines, deepe Rivers and thicke brakes: desiring therefore, that it might please our Captaine to take some order, as he thought best, with all conuenient speed in this behalfe. Our Captaine considering the speech of these persons, and weighing it with his former intelligences had, not onely by Negroes but *Spaniards* also, whereof

whereof he was alwayes very carefull; as also conferring
it with his brother, in formations of the great kindnesse,
that they shewed him being lately with them: after hee
had heard the opinions of those of best service with him,
what were fittest to be done presently, resolved himselfe
with his brother, and the two *Symerons*, in his two Pinn-
ces to go toward this Riuer; as he did the same evening,
giving order, that the Ship, and the rest of his Fleet, should
the next morning follow him, because there was a place
of as great safetie and sufficiencie, which his brother
had found out neere the Riuer. The safetie of it consisted
not onely in that which is common all along that coast
from *Tolou to Nombrey de Dieu*, being aboute sixty leagues,
that is a most goodly & plentifull Countrey, and yet in-
habited not with one Spaniard, or any for the Spaniards;
but especially in that it lieth among a great many of good-
ly Ilands full of Trees, where though there be channels,
yet there are such Rocks and Shoales, that no man can
enter by night, without great danger, nor by day without
discovery, whereas our Ship might lie hidden within the
Trees.

The next day we arrived at this Riuer appointed, where
we found the *Symerons* according to promise: the rest of
their number, were a mile vp in a wood by the riuers side.
There, after we had giuen them entertainment and recei-
ued good testimonies of their joy and good will towards
vs, we tooke two more of them into our Pinnaces, leading
our two men with the rest of theirs; to march by land, to
another Riuer called *Rio Guana*, with intent there to meete
with another Companie of *Symerons*, which were now in
the Mountaines. So we departed that day from *Rio Diego*,
with our Pinnaces towards our Ship, as maruelling that
he followed vs not as was appointed.

But two dayes after, we found her in the place where
we

Sept. 14.

Sept. 16.

we left her, but in sàtre other state; being much spoyled, and in great danger; by reason of a tempest she had in our absence.

Sept. 18.

As soone as we could trimme our Shippe, being some two dayes, our Capitaine sent away one of his Pinnaces, towards the bottome of the Bay, amongst the shoales, and sandy Ilands, to sound out the channell for the bringing in of our Ship neerer the maine.

Sept. 19.

The next day we followed, and were (with warie pilatage, directed safely into the best channell, with much adoe to requies the Roade, among so many flats and shoales. It was nêtre about five leagues from the *Culman*, betwix an Iland and the maine, where we moored our Ship. The Iland was not about foure Cables length from the maine, being in quantitie some three Acres of ground, flat and very full of trees and bushes.

Sept. 22.

We were forced to spend the best part of three dayes, after our departure from our *Port-plentie*, before wee were quiet in the new-found Roade, which we had but newly entred, when our two men and the former Troupe of *Simerons*, with twelve other whom they had met in the Mountaines, came in sight over against our Ship, on the maine: whence we fet them all aboard, to their greate comfort and our content: they reioycing that they should haue some fit opportunity, to wreake their wrongs on the Spaniards: we hoping that now our voyage should be bettered.

Sept. 23.

At our first meeting when our Capitaine had moued them, to shew him the meanes which they had to furnish him with gold and silver: they answered plainely, that had they knowne gold had beene his desire, they could haue satisfied him with store, which for the present they could not do, because the Rivers, in which they had suncke great store, which they had taken from the Spaniards

Spaniards, rather to despise them then for loue of gold, were now so high, that they could not get it out of such depths for him, and because the Spaniards in these rainy moneths doe not vse to carrie their treasure by land.

This answer although it were somewhat vnlooked for, yet nothing discontented vs, but rather perswaded vs farther of their honest and faithfull meaning towards vs. Therefore our Captaine to entertaine these fīue moneths, commanded all our Ordnance and Artillerie a shoare, with all our other prouisions: sending his Pinnaces to the maine, to bring ouer great trees, to make a Fort vpon the same Iland, for the planting of all our Ordnance therein, and for our safeguard, if the Enemy in all this time should chance to come.

Our *Symerons* cut downe *Palmito* boughes and branches, and with wonderfull speed raised vp two large houses for all our Company. Our Fort was then made (by reason of the place) triangle wise with maine timber and earth, of which the Trench yeelded vs good store, so that we made it thirteene foot in height. Sept. 24.

But after we had continued vpon this Iland foureteene Octob. 7. dayes, our Captaine hauing determined, with three Pinnaces to goe for *Carthagene*, left his brother *Iohn Drake*, to gouerne these who remained behinde with the *Symerons*, to finish the Fort which hee had begun: for which he appointed him to fetch boords and plancks, as many as his Pinnace would carrie; from the prize which wee tooke at *Rio Grand*, and left at the *Catinaas*, where shee draue a shore and wracked, in our absence: but now shee might serue verie commodiously to supply our vses, in making Platformes for our Ordnance. Thus our Captaine and his brother tooke their leaue, the one to the Eastward, and the other to the *Catinaas*.

That night wee came to an Ile, which hee called

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Sparkite Iland, because we found there great store of such a kinde a bird in shape, but verie delicate, of which wee killed and roasted many, staying there till the next day mid-noon when we departed thence: And about foure a clocke recovered a big Iland in our way, where we stayed all night, by reason that there was great store of fish, and especially of a great kind of shell-fish of a foot long, we called them *Whelkes*.

Octob. 9. The next morning we were cleere of these Ilands and

Octob. 13. Shoales, and haled off into the Sea. About foure dayes after, neere the Ilands of *Saint Bernards*, wee chased two

Oct. 14, 15. Frigates a shore: and recovering one of the Ilands, made our abode there some two dayes, to walk our Pinnaces and rake of the fish.

Octob. 16. Thence wee went towards *Tolon*, and that day landed neere the Towne in a garden, where wee found certaine *Indians*, who deliuered vs their bowes and arrowes, and gathered for vs such fruit as the Garden did yeeld, being many sorts of daintie fruits and roots, still contenting them for that we receiued: our Captaines principall intent in taking this and other places by the way, not being for any other cause, but onely to learne true intelligences of the state of the Countrey and of the Fleets.

Hence we departed presently, and rowed towards *Charresha* the Iland of *Carthagene*, and entred in at *Bocha Chica*, and hauing the winde large, wee sailed in towards the Citie, and let fall our Grappes betwixt the Iland and the maine, right ouer against the goodly Garden Iland. In which our Captaine would not suffer vs to land, notwithstanding our importunate desire, because hee knew it might be dangerous: for that they are wont to send Souldiers thither, when they know any men of warre vpon the Coast, which we found accordingly: for within three houres after, passing by the point of the Iland, wee had a volley

volley of an hundred shot from them, and yet there was but one of our men hurt.

This euening wee departed to Sea, and the day following, being some two leagues off the Harbour, wee tooke a Barke, and found that the Captaine and his wife with the better sort of the passengers, had forsaken her, and were gone a shore in their Gundelow: by occasion whereof wee boarded without resistance, though they were verie well provided, with swords and targets, and some small shot, besides foure iron Bases. She was about fiftie Tunne, hauing ten Mariners, five or six Negroes, great store of sops and sweet meats, bound from Saint Domingo to Carthagene. This Captaine left behinde him a filke Ancient with his Armes, as might be thought in hastie departing. Octob. 17.

Thenext day we sent all the company a shore to seeke their Masters, sauing a young Negrito of three or foure yeeres old, which we brought away, but kept the Barke, and in her, bore into the mouth of Carthagene Harbour, where we anchored. Octob. 18.

That afternoon, certaine horse-men came downe to the point by the Wood side, and with the *Scruiano* forementioned, came towards our Barke with a Flag of Truce, desiring of our Captaine safe conduct for his comming and going: the which being granted, he came aboard vs, giuing our Captaine great thanks for his manifold fauours, &c. promising that night before day breake, to bring as much victuall as they would desire, what shift soeuer hee made, or what danger soeuer hee incurr'd of law and punishment. But this fell out to be nothing but a deuice of the Gouvernour forced vpon the *Scruiano*, to delay time, til they might provide themselues of sufficient strength to entrap vs: for which this fellow, by his smooth speech, was thought a fit meane. So by Sunne rising, Octob. 19.

when we perceiued his words but words, wee put to Sea to the Westward of the Iland, some three leagues off, where we lay at Hull the rest of all that day and night.

Octob. 20.

The next day in the afternoón, there came out of *Cathagene*, two Frigates bound for *Saint Domingo*, the one of fiftie, the other of twelue Tunne, hauing nothing in them but ballast: we tooke them within a league of the Towne, and came to anchor with them, within Saker shot of the East Bulwarke: there were in those Frigates some twelue or thirteene common Mariners, which intreated to be set a shoare: to them our Captaine gaue the great Frigates Gundelow, and dismissed them.

Octob. 21.

The next morning, when they came downe to the Westler point with a flag of Truce, our Captaine manned one of his Pinnaces and rowed a shoare: when we were within a Cables length of the shoare, the Spaniards fled, hiding themselves in the Woods, as being afraid of our Ordnance; but indeed to draw vs on to land confidently, and to presume of our strength. Our Captaine commanding the Grapnell to be cast out of the sterne, veered the Pinnace a shoare, and as soone as shee touched the sand, hee alone leapt a shoare in their sight, to declare that hee durst set his foot a land, but stayed not among them: to let them know, that though hee had not sufficient forces to conquer them, yet hee had sufficient iudgement to take heed of them. And therefore perceiuing their intent, as soone as our Captaine was aboard, wee haled off vpon our Grapner and rid a while. They presently came forth vpon the sand, and sent a youth, as with a message from the Gouvernour, to know what our intent was, to stay thus vpon the Coast? Our Captaine answered, hee meant to traffique with them: for hee had Tin, Pewter, Cloth, and other Merchandise that they needed. The youth swam backe againe with this answer;
and

and was presently returned, with another message: that, the King had forbidden to traffique with any forraigne Nation for any commodities, except Powder and Shot, of which if wee had any store, they would be his Marchants; he answered, that he was come from his Countrie, to exchange his commodities for Gold and Siluer, and is not purposed to returne without his errand. They are like (in his opinion) to haue little rest, if that by faire meanes they would not traffique with him. He gaue this Messenger a faire Shirt for a reward, and so returned him: who rowled his shirt about his head and swamme very speedily.

We heard no answer all that day, and therefore toward night we went aboard our Frigats and reposed our selues, setting and keeping very orderly all that night our watch, with great and small shot.

The next morning the winde which had beene West-erly in the euening, altered to the Eastward. About the dawning of the day, wee espied two Sayles turning towards vs, whereupon our Captaine weighed with his Pinnaces, leauing the two Frigates vnmand. But when we were come somewhat nigh them, the winde calmed, and we were faine to row towards them, till that approaching verie nigh we saw many heads peering ouer boord. For, as we perceiued, these two Frigates were mand and set forth out of *Carthagene*, to fight with vs, and at least to empeach or busie vs, whiles by some meanes or other they might recouer the Frigates from vs: but our Captaine preuented both their drifts. For commanding *John Oxnam* to stay with the one Pinnace, to entertaine these two men of warre, himsele in the other made such speed, that hee gate to his Frigates which he had left at Anchor, and caused the *Spaniards* (who in the meane time had gotten aboard in a small Canow thinking to haue

towed them within the danger of their shot) to make greater haste thence, then they did thither. For he found that in shifting thence, some of them were faine to swim a land (the Canow not being able to receiue them) and had left their apparell, some their Rapiers and Targets, some their Flaskes and Calliuers behinde them, although they were towing away of one of them: therefore considering that we could not man them, we suncke the one, burnt the other, giuing them to vnderstand by this, that we perceiued their secret practises.

Octob. 22.

This being done, he returned to *John Oxnam*, who all this while lay by the men of warre without proffering of fight. And as soon as our Captaine was come vp to these Frigates, the wind blew much from the sea, so that, we being betwixt the shoare & them, were in a manner forced to beare roome into the Harbor before them, to the great ioy of the *Spaniards* who beheld it, in supposing, that we would still haue fled before them. But as soon as we were in the Harbor, and felt smooth water, our Pinnaces (as we were assured of) getting the winde, we fought with them vpon th'aduantage, so that after a few shot exchanged, and a storme rising, they were contented to presse no neerer. Therefore as they let fall their Anchors, we presently let drop our Grapners in the winde of them, which the *Spanish* Souldiers seeing, considering the disadvantage of the winde, the likelihood of the storme to continue, and small hope of doing any good, they were glad to retire themselves to the Towne. But by reason of the foule and tempestuous weather, we rode ther foure dayes, feeling great cold, by reason wee had such sore raines with Westerly winde, and so little succor in our Pinnaces.

Octob. 27.

The fift day after, there came in a Frigate from the sea, which seeing vs make towards her, ranne herselfe a shoare

shoare, vnchanging her Rudder and taking away her Sayles, that she might not easily be carried away. But when we were come vp to her, we perceiued about a hundred horse and foote, with their furniture, came downe to the point of the maine, where wee interchanged some shot with them. One of our great shot past so neere a braue Caualiere of theirs, that thereby they were occasioned to aduise themselues, and to retreat into the woods, where they might sufficiently defend and rescue the Frigate from vs, and annoy vs also, if wee stayed long about her. Therefore we concluded to go to sea againe, putting forth through *Boca chica*, with intent to rake downe our Masts, vpon hope of faire wether, and to ride vnder the Rockes called *Las Serenas*, which are two leagues off at sea, as we had vsually done aforetime, so that they could not discerne vs from the Rocks. But there the sea was so mightily growne, that we were forced to take the Harbour againe: where wee remained sixe dayes, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* greeued greatly at our aboade there so long, put an other deuise in practise to indanger vs.

Novem. 2.

For they sent forth a great Shallop, a fine Gundeloe, and a great Canow, with certaine *Spaniards* with shot, and many *Indians* with poysoned arrowes, as it seemed, with intent to begin some fight, and then to fly. For assoone as wee rowed towards them and enterchanged shot, they presently retired and went a shoare into the woods, where an Ambush of some sixtie shot were laid for vs: besides two Pinnaces and a Frigate warping towards vs, which were mand as the rest. They attempted vs verie boldly, heing assisted by those others, which from out of the wood had gotten aboard the Gundelo and Canow, and seeing vs bearing from them (which we did in respect of the Ambuscado) they

they encouraged themselues and assured their fellowes of the day. But our Captaine weighing this their attempt, and being out of danger of their shot from the land, commanding his other Pinnace to be brought a head of him, and to let fall their Grapners each a head the others, environed both the Pinnaces with Bonnets, as for a close fight, and then wheaued them aboard them.

They kept themselues vpon their Oares at Calliuer shot distance, spending powder apace, as we did some two or three houres; we had one of our men onely, wounded in that fight: what they had is vnknowne to vs, but we saw their Pinnaces shot thorow in diuers places, and the powder of one of them tooke on fire: whereupon we waighed, intending to beare roome, to ouer-runne them: which they perceiuing and thinking that we would haue boarded them, rowed away amaine to the defence which they had in the wood, the rather because they were disappointed of their helpe, that they expected from the Frigate which was warping towards vs, but by reason of the much winde that blew, could not come to offend vs, or succour them.

Thus seeing that we were still molested, and no hope remained of any purchase to bee had, in this place any longer; because we were now so notably made knowne in those parts, and because our victuals grew scant, as soone as the weather waxed somewhat better (the wind continuing alwayes Westerly, so that we could not returne to our Ships) our Captaine thought best to goe to the Eastward, towards *Riogrand*, along the Coast, where wee had beene before, and found great store of victuals.

Nonem. 3.

Nonem. 5.

But when after two dayes sayling, we were arriued at the Villages of store, where before we had furnished our selues with abundance of Hens, Sheepe, Calues, Hogges, &c. Now wee found bare nothing, not so much as any people

people left, for that they by the Spanyards commandment were fled to the Mountaines, and had driuen away all their Cattle, that we might not be releued by them. Herewith being verie sorrie, because much of our victuall in our Pinnaces was spoiled; by the foule weather at Sea, and raines in Harbour, a Frigate being descried at Sea, sent vs, and put vs in some hope for the time, that in her we should finde sufficient; and thereupon it may easily be guessed, how much we laboured to recouer her: but when we had boarded her, and vnderstood, that she had neither meat nor money, but that she was bound for Rio Grand, to take in prouision vpon ibils, our great hope converted into griefe.

Wee endured with our allowance seven or eight dayes more, proceeding to the Eastwards, and bearing roome for *Santa Martha*, vpon hope to finde some shipping in the Road; or Limpers on the rockes; or succour against the storme in that good Harbour. Being arrived, and seeing no shipping, wee anchored vnder the West point, where is high land, and, as we thought, free in safetie from the Towne; which is in the bottome of the Bay, not intending to land there, because wee knew that it was fortified, and that they had intelligence of vs. But the Spanyards knowing vs to bee Men of warre, and mistaking that wee should shroud vnder their rockes, without their leave, had conueyed some thirtie or fortie shot among the cliffes, which annoyed vs so spitefully and so vneuengedly (for that they lay hidden behinde the rockes, but wee lay open to them) that wee were soone wearie of our Harbour, and enforced, for all the storme without, and want within, to put to Sea, which though these enemies of ours were well contented withall, yet for a farewell, as we came open of the Towne, they sent vs a Culuerin shot, which made a neere escape; for

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it fell betweene our Pinnaces, as wee were vpon conference of what was best to beedone. The Company aduised, that if it pleased him, they might put themselves a land some place to the East-ward to get victuals, and rather hope for courtesie of the Countrey people, then continue at Sea, in so long cold, and great a storme in so leake a Pinnace. But our Captaine would in no wise like of that aduice, hee thought it better to beare vp towards *Rio de Haca*, or *Corizao*, with hope there to haue plentie without great resistance, because hee knew, either the Islands were not verie populous, or else it were verie likely that there would be found ships of victuall in a readinesse.

The Company of the other Pinnace answered, that they would willingly follow him thorow the world, but in this they could not see how, either their Pinnace should liue in that Sea, without being eaten vp in that storme, or they themselves able to endure so long time, with so slender prouision as they had, *viz.* onely one Gammon of Bacon and thirtie pound of Bisket for eighteen men. Our Captaine replied, that they were better prouided then himselfe was, who had but one Gammon of Bacon, and fortie pound of Bisket for his twentie foure men: and therefore hee doubted not but they would take such part as hee did, and willingly depend vpon Gods Almightye providence, which neuer faileth them that trust in him: with that he hoysed his fore-saile, and set his course for *Corizao*, which the rest perceiuing, with sorrowfull hearts in respect of the weake Pinnace, yet desirous to follow their Captaine, consented to take the same course.

Wee had not sailed past three leagues, but we had espied a saile plying to the Westward with her two courses, to our great ioy, who vowed together, that wee would haue

haue her, or else it should cost vs deare. Bearing with her, we found her to be a Spanish ship of aboute ninetie Tun, which being wheaued a maine by vs, despised our summons, and shot off her Ordnance at vs.

The Sea went verie high, so that it was not for vs, to attempt to boord her, and therefore wee made fit small saile to attend vpon her, and keepe her company to her small content, till fairer weather might lay the Sea. We spent not past two houres in our attendance, till it pleased God, after a great shower to send vs a reasonable calme, so that we might vse our Peeces, and approach her at pleasure, in such sort, that in short time wee had taken her, finding her laden with victuall well powdred and dried, which at that present wee receiued, as sent vs of Gods great mercie.

After all things were set in order, and that the winde increased toward night, wee plyed off and on till day, at what time our Captaine sent in *Edward Hixon*, who had then charge of his Pinnace, to search out some Harbour along the Coast: who having found out a little one, some ten or twelve leagues to the East of *Santa Martha*, where in sounding he had good ground and sufficient water, presently returned, & our Captaine brought in his new Prize. Then by promising libertie, and all their apparrell to the Spanyards which we had taken, if they would bring vs to water and fresh victuals, the rather by their meanes, wee obtained of the inhabitants Indians, what they had which was plentifull. These Indians were clothed, and gouerned by a *Spaniard* which dwelt in the next Towne, not past a league off: we stayed there all day, watering and wooding, and providing things necessarie, by giuing content & satisfaction to the Indians. But towards night our Captaine called all of vs aboard, (only leauing the *Spaniards* lately taken in the Prize ahoare, according to our

promise made them, to their great content, who acknowledged that our Capitaine did them a farre greater fauour, in setting them freely at libertie, then hee had done them displeasure in taking their ship) and so set saile. *See 2000*

The sicknesse which had begun so kinde amongst vs two or three dayes before, did this day shew it selfe in *Charles Glub*, one of our Quarter-masters, a verie tall man, and a right good Matroon, taken away to the great griefe both of Capitaine and Company. What the cause of this malady was, we knew not of certaintie, wee imputed it to the cold which our men had taken, lying without succour in the Pinnaes. But howsoeuer it was, thus it pleased God to visit vs, and yet in fauour to restore vnto health, all the rest of our Company, that were touched with this disease, which were not a few. *See 2000*

Novem. 15. The next morning being faire weather, though the winde continued contrarye, our Capitaine commanded the *Minor* his lesser Pinnae, to hasten away before him towards his ships at *Fort Diego* within the *Cabexa* to receive newes of his coming, and to putt things in a readinesse for our land iourney, if they beare any thing of the *Flores* attwale by the *Symons*, giving the *Minor* charge if they wanted wine, to take *Saint Bernards* in their way, and there take in some such portion as they thought good, of the wines which we had there hidden in the sand. *See 2000*

Novem. 22. We plyed to windwards, as neere as we could. To that within a fewen night after the *Minor* departed from vs, we came to *Saint Bernards*, where we staid many houres, finding but twelue *Bottles* of wine, of all the store wee left, which had escaped the curious search of the Enemy (who had beene there) for that they were deepe in the ground. *See 2000*

Within

Within foure or five dayes after, we came to our ship, where we found all other things in good order, but received very heauie newes of the death of *John Drake* our Capitaines brother, and another young man called *Richard Allen* which were both slaine in our time, as they attempted the boarding of a Frigate within two dayes after our departing from them. I do not speak of beautes. The manner of it (as we learned by examination of the Company) was this: when they saw this Frigate at sea, (as they were going towards their Boat with plankes to make the Platformes) the Company were very importunate on him, to giue chase and set upon this Frigate, which they deemed had beene a fit booty for them. But he told them, that they wanted weapons to assault; they knew not how the Frigate was provided, they had their boats laden with plankes, to him that his brother had commanded. But when this would not satisfie them, but that still they urged him with words and supplics. If you will needes haue aduentyre, I shall neuer be said that I will be hindermost, neither shall I be reported my brother, that you lost your voyage by any cowardise you found in me.

Thereupon every man shifted as they might for the time, and heaving their plankes over board, tooke them such poore weapons as they had: *John Drake* tooke the Rapier, and made a Caliber of his Pillow; *Richard Allen* the Visage; but standing in the head of the Pinnace called the *Elm*; *Robert* tooke the Caliber and so boarded. But they found the Frigate armed round about with a close fight of pikes, muskets and Caliuers, which were discharged in their faces, and deadly wounded those that were in the Fore ship, *John Drake* in the belly, and *Richard Allen* in the head. But

notwithstanding their wounds, they with Oares shifted off the Pinnace, got cleare of the Frigate, and with all haster recovered their Ship, where within an houre after this young man of great hope, ended his dayes, greatly lamented of all the Company.

Thus having moored our Ships fast, our Captaine resolved to keepe himselfe close, without being desiered, vntill hee might heare of the comming of the Spanisli Fleet, and therefore set no more to Sea, but supplied his wants, both for his owne Company and the *Symmons*, out of his foresaid Magazine, besides daily out of the woods, with wild Hogges, Pheasants and Guanias, continuing in health (God bepraised) all the meane time, which was a moneth at least, till at length about the beginning of Ianuary, halfe a score of our Company fell downe sicke altogether, and the most of them died within two or three dayes: so long that we had thirtie at a time sicke of the *Calenture*, which attached our men, either by reason of the suddaine change from cold to heate, or by reason of brackish water which had beene taken in by one Pinnace, through the sloth of their men in the mouth of the Riuer, not rowing further in where the water was good.

Among the rest, *Ioseph Drake* another of his brethren died in our Captaines armes, of the same disease: of which, that the cause might be the better discerned, and consequently remedied, to the releefe of others, by our Captaines appointment he was ript open by the Surgeon, who found his liuer swolne, his heart as it were sodden, and his guts all faire. This was the first and last experiment that our Captaine, made of Anatomy in this voyage.

The Surgeon that cut him vp, ouer-lived him not past foure dayes, although hee were not toucht with that sicknesse,

Ian. 3.

sickenesse, of which hee had beene recovered about a moneth before : but onely of an ouerbold practise which he would needs make vpon himselfe ; by receiuing an ouer-throng purgation of his owne deuice : after which taken, he neuer spake, nor his boy recovered the health which he lost by tasting it. till he saw England ^{new doine}

The *Symerons*, who, as is before said, had beene entertained by our Captaine in September last, and vsually repaired to our Ship, during all the time of our absence; ranged the Country vp and downe, betweene *Nombre de Dios* and vs, to learne what they might for vs: whereof they gaue our Captaine aduertisement from time, to time, as now particularly, certaine of them let him vnderstand, that the Fleete was certainly arrived at *Nombre de Dios*.

Therefore he sent the *Lyon*, to the seamost Island of the *Catimans*, to discry the truth of the report : by reason it must needs be, that if the Fleet were in *Nombre de Dios* all the Frigates of the Countrey would repaire thitherwards with victuall.

Jan. 30.

The *Lyon* within few dayes descried that she was sent for, espying a Frigate which she presently boarded and tooke, laden with *Maiz*, Hens, and Pompions from *Tolon*, who assured vs of the whole truth, of the arriual of the Fleete: in this Frigate were taken one woman and twelue men, of whom one was the *Scriuane* of *Tolon*. These wee vsed very courteously, keeping them diligently guarded from the deadly hatred of the *Symerons*, who sought daily by all meanes they could get them of our Captaine, that they might cut their throates, to reuenge their wrongs and iniuries, which the Spanish Nation had done them: but our Captaine perswaded them not to touch them, or giue them ill countenance, while they were in his charge: and tooke

took order for their safetie, not onely in his presence, but also in his absence. For when he had prepared to take his iourney for Panama by land, he gaue Ellis Hixon charge of his owne Ship and Company, and especially of those Spaniards whom he had put into the great Prize, which was haled a shoare to the land, (which we termed slaughter land, because so many of our men died there) and vsed as a store-house for our selues, and a prison for our Enemies.

All things thus ordered, our Captaine conferring with his Companie and the Chiefest of the *Symierans*, what provisions were to be prepared for this great and long iourney; what kinde of weapons, what store of victuals; and what manner of apparell: was especially aduised; to carrie as great store of Shooes as possibly he might; by reason of so many Rivers, with stones and gravel as they were to passe, which accordingly providing, prepared his Company for that iourney; entring it vpon Shrouetuesday. At what time there had died twentie eight of our men, and a few whole men were left aboard with Ellis Hixon, to keepe the Ship and bend the licke, and guard the prisoners.

At his departure our Captaine gaue this Master straight charge, in any case not to trust any messenger, that should come in his name with any tokens, vntill he brought his hand writing; which he knew could not be counterfeited; by the *Symierans* or Spaniards.

We were in all foure eights of which eigheteene onely were English; the rest were *Symierans*; which besides their Ammunition, euery one of them brought quantity of victuals, provision, supplying our want of carriages in so long a iourney, so that we were not troubled with any thing but our furnitures. And because they could not carrie enough to sustaine us altogether; therefore, as they promised

before

Feb. 3.

before, so by the way with their arrowes, they prouided for vs competent store from time to time.

They haue euerie one of them two sorts of arrowes, the one to defend himselfe and offend the enemy, the other to kill his victuals. These for fight are somewhat like the Scottish Arrow; onely somewhat longer, and headed with iron, wood, or fish-bones. But the Arrowes for prouision are of three sorts, the first serueth to kill any great Beast neere hand, as Oxe, Stag, or wilde Boare: this hath a head of iron of a pound and a halfe weight, shaped in forme like the head of a jauelin or Boare-speare, as sharpe as any knife, making so large and deepe a wound, as can hardly be beleued of him that hath not seene it. The second serueth for lesser Beasts, and hath a head of three quarters of a pound: this he most vsually shooteth. The third serueth for all manner of Birds: it had a head of an ounce weight. And these heads, though they bee of iron onely, yet are they so cunningly tempered, that they will continue a verie good edge a long time: and though they bee turned sometimes, yet they will neuer or seldome breake. The necessitie in which they stand hereof continually, causeth them to haue iron in farre greater account then gold: and no man among them is of greater estimation, then hee that can most perfectly giue this temper vnto it.

Euerie day we were marching by Sun-rising, we continued till ten in the forenoone, then resting (euer neere some riuer) till past twelue, wee marched till foure, and then by some riuers side, wee reposed our selues in such houses, as either we found prepared heretofore by them, when they trauelled thorow these woods, or they daily built verie readily for vs, in this manner.

As soone as wee came to the place, where we intended to lodge, the *Symmons*, presently laying downe their
H burthens,

burthens, fell to cutting of forkes or posts, and poles or rafters, and Palmito boughes, or Plantaine leaues, and with great speed set vp, to the number of six houses. For euerie of which, they first fastned deepe into the ground, three or foure great posts with forkes: vpon them they layd one Transome, which was commonly about twentie foot, and made the sides in the manner of the roofes of our Countrey houses, thatching it close with those aforefayd leaues, which keepe out water a long time: obseruing alwayes that in the lower ground, where greater heat was, they left some three or foure foot open vnthacht below, and made the houses, or rather roofes, so many foot the higher. But in the hils, where the aire was more peircing, and the nights colder, they made our roomes alwayes lower, and thatched them close to the ground, leauing onely one doore to enter at, and a lower-hole for a vent, in the middest of the roose. In euerie of these they made foure feuerall lodgings, and three fires, one in the middest, and one at each end of euerie house: so that the roome was most temperately warme, and nothing annoyed with smoake, partly by reason of the nature of the wood, which they vse to burne, yeelding verie little smoake, partly by reason of their artificiall making of it: as firing the wood cut in length like our billets, at the ends, and ioyning them together so close, that though no flame or fire did appeare, yet the heat continued without intermission.

Neere many of the riuers where wee stayed or lodged, we found sundry sorts of fruits, which we might vse with great pleasure and safetie temperately, *Mammeeas*, *Guyanas*, *Palmitos*, *Pinos*, *Oranges*, *Lemons*, and diuers other; from eating of which they dissuaded vs in any case, vnlesse we eat verie few of them, and those first dry roasted, as *Plantans*, *Potatos*, and such like.

In

In iourneying, as oft as by chance they found any wilde Swine, of which those hills and valleyes haue store, they would ordinarily, six at a time, deliuer their burthens to the rest of their fellowes, and pursue, kill, and bring away after vs, as much as they could carrie, and time permitted. One day as wee trauelled, the *Symerons* found an Otter, and prepared it to bee drest: our Captaine maruelling at it, *Pedro* (our cheefe *Symeron*) asked him, *Are you a man of warre, and in want, and yet doubt whether this bee meat that hath blood?* Herewithall our Captaine rebuked him selfe secretly, that he had so slightly considered of it before.

The third day of our iourney, they brought vs to a Towne of their owne, seated neere a faire riuer, on the side of a hill, enuironed with a dike of eight foot broad, and a thicke mud wall of ten foot high, sufficient to stop a sudden surprizer. It had one long and broad street, lying East and West, and two other crosse streets of lesse breadth and length: there were in it some five or six and fiftie households, which were kept so cleane and sweet, that not only the houses, but the verie streets were verie pleasant to behold. In this Towne we saw they liued verie ciuilly and cleanly: for as soone as wee came thither, they washed themselves in the riuer, and changed their apparel, which was verie fine and fitly made (as also their women doe weare) somewhat after the Spanish fashon, though nothing so costly. This Towne is distant thirtie five leagues from *Nombre de Dios*, and fortie five from *Panama*. It is plentifully stored with many sorts of Beasts and Fowle, with plentie of Maiz and sundry fruits.

Touching their affection in religion, they haue no kinde of Priests, onely they held the Crosse in great reputation: but at our Captaines perswasion, they were contented to leaue their Cresses, and to learne the Lords

prayer; and to be instructed in some measure concerning Gods true worship. They keepe a continuall watch in foure parts, three miles off their Towne, to preuent the mischiefes which the *Spaniards* intend against them, by the conducting of some of their owne coats, which hauing beene taken by the *Spaniards*, haue beene enforced thereunto: wherein, as we learned, sometimes the *Spaniards* haue preuailed ouer them, specially when they liued lesse carefull; but since they against the *Spaniards*, whom they kil like beasts, as often as they take them in the woods, hauing aforehand vnderstood of their comming.

Feb. 7.

We stayed with them that night, and the next day till noone: during which time they related vnto vs diuers verie strange accidents, that had fallen out between them and the *Spaniards*, namely one: A gallant Gentleman entertained by the *Gouernours* of the Countrey, vnderooke the yeere last past, with a hundred and fiftie *Souldiers*, to put this Towne to the sword, men, women, and children, being conducted to it by one of them, that had beene taken prisoner, and won by great gifts: hee surprised it halfe an houre before day, by which occasion most of the men escaped, but many of their women and children were slaughtered, or taken: but the same morning by Sun rising, after that their Guide was slaine, in following another mans wife; and that the *Symerons* had assembled themselves in their strength, they behaued themselves in such sort, and draue the *Spaniards* to such extremitie, that what with the disaduantage of the woods, hauing lost their Guide, and thereby their way, what with famine and want, there escaped not past thirtie of them, to returne answer to those which sent them.

Their King dwelt in a Citie within sixteene leagues Southeast of *Panama*, which is able to make one thousand seuen hundred fighting men.

They

They all intreated our Captaine very earnestly, to take his abode with them some two or three dayes, promising that by that time, they would double his strength if he thought good. But he thanking them for their offer, told them, that he could stay no longer, it was more then time to prosecute his purposed voyage: as for strength, he would with no more then he had, although he might haue presently twentie times asmuch: which they tooke as proceeding not onely from kindnesse, but also from magnanimitie, and therefore, they marched forth that afternoone with great good will.

This was the order of our march: Foure of those *Symerons* that best knew the wayes, went about a mile distance before vs, breaking boughes as they went, to be a direction to those that followed: but with great silence, which they required vs also to keepe. Then twelue of them were as it were our Vantgard, and other twelue our Reereward: wee with their two Captaines in the midst.

All the way was thorow woods very coole and pleasant, by reason of those goodly and high Trees, that grow there so thicke, that it is cooler trauellling there vnder them in that hot region, then it is in the most parts of England in the Summer time. This gaue a speciall encouragement vnto vs all, that we vnderstood there was a great Tree about the midway, from which, we might at once discerne the North sea from whence we came, and the South sea whether we were going.

The fourth day following we came to the height of the *Feb. 11.* desired Hill, (a very high Hill, lying East and West, like a ridge betweene the two Seas) about tenne of the clocke: where the chiefeft of these *Symerons* tooke our Captaine by the hand, and prayed him to follow him,

if he was desirous to see at once the two Seas : which he had so long longed for.

Here was that goodly and great high Tree, in which they had cut and made diuers steps, to ascend vp neere vnto the top, where they had made a conuenient Bower, wherein tenne or twelue men might easily sit : and from thence we might without any difficulty plainly see, the *Atlantick* Ocean whence now we came, & the south *Atlantick* so much desired: South and North of this Tree, they had felled certaine Trees, that the prospect might bee the cleerer : and neere about the Tree there were diuers strong houses, that had bene built long before, as well by other *Symerons* as by these : which vsually passe that way, as being inhabited in diuers places in those waste Countries.

After our Captaine had ascended to this Bower, with the chiefe *Symeron*, and hauing as it pleased God, at that time, by reason of the brize, a very faire day, had seene that sea, of which he had heard such golden reports : hee besought Almighty God of his goodnesse, to giue him life and leaue to sayle once in an English Ship in that sea: and then calling vp all the rest of our men, acquainted *Iohn Oxnam* especially with this his petition and purpose, if it would please God to grant him that happinesse: who vnderstanding it, presently protested, that vnlesse our Captaine did beate him from his company, he would follow him by Gods grace.

Feb. 13.

Thus all thoroughly satisfied with the sight of the seas, descended, and alter our repast, continued our ordinary march, through woods, yet two dayes more as before: without any great varietie. But then we came to march in a Champion Country, where the grasse groweth, not only in great length as the knot grasse groweth in many places, but

but to such height, that the inhabitants are faine to burne it thrise in the yeere, that it may bee able to feede their Cattle, of which they haue thousands. For it is a kinde of grasse with a stalke, as big as a great wheaten-reed, which hath a blade issuing from the top of it, on which, though the cattle feed, yet it groweth euery day higher, vntill the top be too high for an Oxe to reach. Then the inhabitants are wont to put fire to it, for the space of fise or sixe miles together, which notwithstanding after it is thus burnt, within three dayes springeth vp fresh like greene corne. Such is the great fruitfulnessse of the soyle: by reason of the euennesse of the day and night, and the rich dewes which fall euery morning.

In these three last dayes march in the Champion, as we past ouer the hilles, we might see *Panama* fise or sixe times a day, & the last day we saw the Ships riding in the roade. Feb. 14.

But after that we were come within a dayes iourney of *Panama*, our Captaine vnderstanding by the *Symerons* that the Dames of *Panama* are wont to send forth Hunters, and Fowlers, for taking of sundry daintie Fowle, which the Land yeeldeth, by whom if we marched not very heedelessly, we might be descried; caused all his company to march out of all ordinary way, and that with as great heed, silence and secrecie, as possibly they might, to the Groue, which was agreed on foure dayes before, lying within a league of *Panama*, where we might lie safely vndiscouered neare the high way, that leadeth from thence to *Nombre de Dios*.

Thence wee sent a chosen *Symeron*, one that had serued a Master in *Panamah* before time, in such appa-
rell as the *Negroes* of *Panamah* doe vse to warre, to be our Espiall, to go into the Towne, to learne the cer-
taine night, and time of the night, when the Carriers
laded

laded the Treasure from the Kings Treasure-houſe to *Nombre de Dios*.

For they are wont to take their iourney from *Panama* to *Venta Cruz*, which is fixe leagues, euer by night, becauſe the Countrey is all champion, and conſequently by day very hot: but from *Venta Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*, as oft as they trauell by land, with their Treasure, they trauell alwayes by day and not by night, becauſe all that way is full of woods, and therefore very freſh and coole: vnleſſe the *Symerons* happily encounter them, and make them ſweate with feare, as ſometimes they haue done: whereupon they are glad to guard their *Recces* with Souldiers as they paſſe that way.

This laſt day our Captaine did behold and view, the moſt of all that faire Citie, diſcerning the large ſtreete which lieth directly from the ſea into the land, South and North. By three of the clocke we came into this Groue, paſſing (for the more ſecrecie) alongſt a certaine River, which at that time was almoſt dryed vp.

Hauiug diſpoſed of our ſelues in the Groue, wee diſpatched our Spie an houre before night, ſo that by the cloſing in of the euening; he might be in the Citie: as hee was: whence preſently he returned vnto vs, that which very happily he vnderſtood by companions of his: That the Trealurer of *Lima*, intending to paſſe into *Spain* in the firſt *aduifo*, (which was a Ship of three hundred and fifty Tunne, a very good Saylor) was ready that night, to take his iourney towards *Nombre de Dios*, with his Daughter and Family: hauiug foureteene Moyles in company, of which, eight was laden with gold, & one with iewels. And farther, that there were two other *Recces*, of ſiftie Moyles in each, laden with victuals for the moſt part, with ſome little quantitie of ſiluer, to come forth that night after the
other.

other. There are twentie eight of these *Recos*, the greatest of them is of seauentie Moyles, the lesse of fittie, vnlesse some particular man hire for himselfe, ten, twenty or thirty, as he hath need.

Vpon this notice, we forthwith marcht foure leagues; till we came within two leagues of *Venta Cruz*, in which march two of our *Symerons* which were sent before, by scent of his match, found and brought a Spaniard whom they had found a sleepe by the way, by scent of the said match, and drawing neere thereby, heard him taking his breath as he slept, and being but one, they fell vpon him, stopt his mouth from crying, put out his match, and bound him so, that they well neare strangled him by that time he was brought vnto vs. By examining him, we found all that to be true, which our Spie had reported to vs, and that he was a Souldier entertained with others by the Treasurer, for the guard and conduct of this Treasure, from *Venta Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*.

This Souldier hauing learned who our Captaine was, tooke courage and was bold to make two requests vnto him: the one, that he would command his *Symerons* which hated the Spaniards (especially the Souldiers) extreamely, to spare his life, which he doubted not but they would do at his charge: the other was, that seeing he was a Souldier, and assured him, that they should haue that night, more gold, besides iewels, and pearles of great price, then all they could carrie (if not, then he was to be dealt with how they would) but if they all found it so, then it might please our Captaine to giue vnto him, as much as it might suffice for him and his Mistresse to liue vpon, as he had heard our Captaine had done to diuers others: for which he would make his name so famous, as any of them, which had received like fauour.

I

Being

Being at the place appointed, our Captaine with halfe of his men, lay on one side of the way, about fiftie paces off in the long grasse: *Iohn Oxnam* with the Captaine of the *Symerons*, and the other halfe, lay on the other side of the way, at the like distance: but so farre behind, that as occasion serued, the former Company might take the foremost *Moyles* by the heads, and the other the hindmost, because the *Moyles* tyed together, are alwayes driuen one after another; ad especially that if we should haue need to vse our weapons that night, we might be sure not to endamage our fellowes. We had not laine thus in ambush much aboue an houre, but we heard the *Recos* comming from the Citie to *Venta Cruz*, and from *Venta Cruz* to the Citie, which hath a very common and great trade, when the Fleetes are there: we heard them, by reason they delight much to haue deepe sounding Belles, which in a still night are heard very farre off.

Now though there were as great charge given as might be, that none of our men should show or stirre themselves: but let all that came from *Venta Cruz* to passe quietly: yea their *Recos* also, because we knew that they brought nothing but Marchandise from thence: yet one of our men called *Robert Pike*, hauing drunken too much *Aqua vite* without water, forgot himselfe, and enticing a *Symeron* forth with him, was gone hard to the way, with intent to haue shewne his forwardnesse on the foremost *Moyles*. And when a *Canalier* from *Venta Cruz*, well mounted, with his Page running at his stirrop, past by vnadvisedly he rose vp to see what he was: but the *Symeron* of better discretion pold him downe, and lay vpon him, that he might not disconer them any more. Yet by this the Gentleman had taking notice by
seeing

seeing one all in white: for that we had all put our shirts ouer our other apparell, that we might be sure to know our owne men in the pell mell in the night. By meanes of this sight, the Cavalier putting spurs to his horse, rode a false gallop, as desirous not onely himselfe to be free of this doubt; which he imagined, but also to giue aduertisement to others that they might auoid it.

Our Captaine who had heard and obserued (by reason of the hardnesse of the ground and stilnesse of the the night) the change of this Gentlemans trot to a gallop, suspected that he was discovered, but could not imagine by whose fault, neither did the time giue him leasure to search. And therefore considering that it might bee, by reason of the danger of the place, well knowne to ordinary Trauellers: we lay still in expectation of the Treasurers comming, who was by this time within halfe a league, and had come forwards to vs, but that this Horseman meeting him, and (as wee afterwards learned by the other *Recoes*) making report to him, what he had seene presently that night, what he heard of Captaine *Drake* this long time, and what he coniectured to be most likely: *viz.* that the said Captaine *Drake*, or some for him, disappointed of his expectation, of getting any great Treasure, both at *Nombre de Dios* and other places, was by some meanes or other come by land, in couert thorow the woods vnto this place to speed for his purpose: and thereupon perswaded him to turne his *Recoo* out of the way, and let the other *Recoes*, which were comming after to passe on. They were whole *Recoes*, and loaden but with victuals for the most part, so that the losse of them were farre lesse if the worst befell, and yet they should serue to discover them as well as the best.

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Thus

Thus by the rechelesnesse of on of our Company, and by the carefulnesse of this Traueller, wee were disappointed of a most rich bootie, which is to be thought God would not should be taken, for that by all likelihood it was well gotten by that Treasurer.

The other two *Recoes* were no sooner come vp to vs, but being stayed and sealed on, one of the cheefe Carriers a very sensible fellow, told our Captaine by what meanes wee were discovered, and counselled vs to shift for our selues betimes, vnlesse we were able to encounter the whole force of the Citie and Countrie which before day would be about vs.

It pleased vs but little, that we were defeated of our golden *Recoe*, & that in these we could find not past some two Horle-loade of siluer: but it grieved our Captaine much more, that he was discovered, and that by one of his owne men. But knowing it bootlesse to grieve at things past, and hauing learned by experience, that all safetie in extremities consisteth in taking of time: after no long consultation with *Pedro* the chiefe of our *Symerrons*, who declared that there were but two wayes for him: the one to trauell backe againe the same secret way they came, for foure leagues space into the Woods: or else to march forward, by the high way to *Vinta Cruz*, being two leagues, and make a way with his Sword thorow the Enemies. He resolved, considering the long and wearie marches that wee had taken, and chiefly that last euening and day before: to take now the shortest and readiest way; as choosing rather to encounter his Enemies while he had strength remaining, then to be encountred or chased when wee should bee worne out with wearinesse: principally now hauing the *Moyles*, to ease them that would, some part of the way.

Therefore

Therefore commanding all to refresh themselves moderately with such store of victuall, as wee had there in aboundance, he signified his resolution and reason to them all: asking *Pedro* by name, whether he would giue his hand not to forsake him (because hee knew that the rest of the *Symerons* would also then stand fast and firme, so faithfull are they to their Captaine.) He being very glad of his resolution, gaue our Captaine his hand, and vowed that hee would rather die at his foote, then leaue him to the Enemies, if he held this course.

So hauing strengthened our selues for the time, we tooke our iourney towards *Venta Cruz*, with helpe of the *Moyles*, till we came within a mile of the Towne, where we turned away the *Recoes*, charging the Conducters of them, not to follow vs, vpon paine of their liues.

There the way is cut thorow the Woods, about ten or twelue foote broade, so as two *Recoes* may passe one by another. The fruitfulnessse of the soyle causeth, that with often shredding and ridding the way those Woods grow as thicke as our thickest hedges in *England* that are oft nest cut.

To the midst of this Wood, a Company of Souldiers, which continually lay in that Towne, to defend it against the *Symerons* were come forth, to stop vs if they might on the way, if not, to retrait to their strength, and there to expect vs. A Conuent of Friers of whom one was become a Leader, ioyned with these Souldiers, to take such part as they did.

Our Captaine vnderstanding by our two *Symerons*, which with great heedfulnessse and silence, marched now, but aboue halfe a flight-shot before vs, that it was

time for vs to arme and take vs to our weapons, for they knew the enemy was at hand, by smelling of their match and hearing of a noyse: had given vs charge, that no one of vs should make any shot, vntill the Spaniards had first spent their volly which he thought they would not doe before they had spoken, as indeed fell out: For as soone as we were within hearing, a Spanish Captaine cried aloud, *Hóó*, our Captaine answered him likewise, and being demanded, *Que gente?* replied *Englishmen*. But when the said Commander charged him in the name of the King of *Spaine* his Master, that we should yeeld our selues, promising in the word and faith of a Gentleman Souldier, that if he would so do, he would vse vs with all courtesie; our Captaine drawing somewhat neere him said: That for the honour of the Queene of *England* his his Mistresse, he must haue passage that way: and therewithall discharged his Pistoll towards him.

Vpon this, they presently shot off their whole volly, which, though it lightly wounded our Captaine and diuers of our men, yet it caused death to one only of our Company called *John Harris*, who was so poudered with haile-shot (which they all vsed for the most part as it seemed, or else quartered, for that our men were hurt with that kinde) that wee could not recover his life, though he continued all that day afterwards with vs. Presently as our Captaine perceiued their shot to come slacking, as the latter drops of a great shewre of raine; with his Whistle he gaue vs his vsuall signall, to answer them with our shot and arrowes, and so march onwards vpon the Enemy, with intent to come to handi-strokes, and to haue ioyned with them: whom when he found retired as to a place of some better strength, he encreased his pace to preuent them if he might. Which the

Symon

Symérons perceiuing, although by terror of the shot continuing, they were for the time slept a sleepe: yet as soone as they discerned by hearing that we marched onward, they all rusht forwards one after another, trauersing the way, with their Arrowes ready in their Bowes, and their manner of Country dance or leape, very lustily, singing *Xó pehó, Xó pehó*, and so got before vs, where they continued their leape and song, after the manner of their owne Country warres till they and we ouer-tooke some of the Enemie, who neere the Townes end had conueied themselves within the Woods, to haue taken their stand at vs, as before.

But our *Symérons* now thoroughly encouraged, when they saw our resolution, brake in thorow the thickest, on both sides of them, forcing them to flye, Fryers and all, although diuers of our men were wounded; and one *Symeron* especially was runne thorow with one of their Rifes, whose courage and mind serued him so well notwithstanding, that he reuenged his owne death ere hee died, by killing him that had giuen him that deadly wound.

We with all speed, following this chase, entred the Towne of *Venta Cruz*, being of about fortie or fiftie houses, which had both a Gouvernour and other Officers and some faire houses, with many Store-houses large and strong for the Warres, which were brought thither from *Nombre de Dios*, by the Riuer of *Chagro*, so to be transported by Moyles to *Panama* besides the Monastierie where we found about a thousand Bulles and Pardons newly sent thither from Rome.

In those houses wee found three Gentlewomen, which had lately beene deliuered of Children there, though their dwelling were in *Nombre de Dios*, because

it:

it hath beene obserued of long time, as they reported to vs, that no *Spaniards* or White woman could euer be deliuered in *Nombre de Dios* with safetie of their children, but that within two or three dayes they died; notwithstanding that being borne and brought vp in this *Venta Cruz* or *Panama* siue or fixe yeares, and then brought to *Nombre de Dios*, if they escaped sicknesse the first or second moneth, they commonly liued in it as healthily as in any other place: although no stranger (as they say) can endure there any long time, without great danger of death or extreame sicknesse.

Though at our first comming into the Towne with Armes so suddenly, these Gentlewomen were in great feare: yet because our Captaine had giuen strait charge to all the *Symcerons* (that whilet they were in his companie, they should neuer hurt any woman, nor man that had not weapon in his hand to doe them hurt, which they earnestly promised, and no lesse faithfully performed) they had no wrong offered them, not any thing taking from them, to the worth of a garter: wherein, albeit they had indeed sufficient safetie and securitie; by those of his company, which our Captaine sent vnto them, of purpose to comfort them: yet they neuer ceased most earnestly intreating, that our Captaine would vouchsafe to come to them himselfe for their more safetie: which when he did, in their presence reporting the charge he had first giuen, and the assurance of his men, they were comforted.

While the Guards which we had (not without great neede) set, as well on the bridge which we were to passe ouer, as at the Townes end where wee entred (they haue no other entrance into the Towne by Land: but from the waters side there is one other, to carrie vp and downe

downe their Merchandise from their Frigates) gained vs libertie and quiet to stay in this Towne some houre and halfe : we had not onely refreshed our selues , but our company and *Symerons* had gotten some good pillage, which our Captaine allowed and gaue them (being not the thing he looked for) so that it were not too cumbersome or heauie in respect of our trauell , or defence o. our selues. A little before we departed, some ten or twelue horsemen came from *Panama* by all likelihood, supposing that we were gone out of this Towne, for that all was so still and quiet , came to enter the Towne confidently : but finding their entertainment such as it was, they that could , rode faster backe againe for feare, then they had ridden forwards for hope.

Thus we hauing ended our businesse in this Towne, and the day beginning to spring , we marched ouer the Bridge, obseruing the same order that wee did before. There we were all safe in our opinion, as if we had beene enuironed with Wall and Trench : for that no *Spaniard* without his extreame danger could follow vs. The rather now, for that our *Symerons* were growne very valiant. But our Captaine considering that he had a long way to passe, & that he had bin now well neere fortnight from his Ship, where he had left his Company but weake by reason of their sicknesse, hastned his iourneies as much as he might , refusing to visit the other *Symeron* Townes (which they earnestly desired him) and encouraging his owne Companie with such example and speech, that the way seemed much shorter. For he marched most cheerefully and assured vs, that he doubted not but ere he left that Coast, we should all be bountifully paid and recompensed for all those paines taken: but by reason of this our Captaines haste, and leauing

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of their Townes, wee marched many dayes with hungry stomackes, much against the will of our *Symersons*: Who if we would haue stayed any day from this continuall iourneying, would haue killed for vs victuall sufficient.

In our absence, the rest of the *Symersons* had built a little Towne within three leagues off the port where our Ship lay. There our Captaine was contented, vpon their great and earnest intreaties to make some stay, for that they alleadged, it was onely built for his sake. And indeed hee consented the rather, that the want of shooes might be supplied by meanes of the *Symersons*, who were a great helpe vnto vs: all our men complayning of the tendernes of their feete, whom our Captaine would him selfe in their complaint accompany sometimes without cause, but sometimes with cause indeed, which made the rest to beare the burthen the more easily.

These *Symersons* during all the time that wee were with them, did vs continually very good seruice, and in particular in this iourney, being vnto vs instead of intelligencers, to aduertise vs; of guides in our way to direct vs; of purueiors to provide victualls for vs; of housewrights to build our lodgings; and had indeed able and strong bodies carying all our necessities, yea many times when some of our company fainted with sicknesse or wearinesse, two *Symersons* would carrie him with ease betweene them two miles together, and at other times when need was they would shew themselves no lesse valiant then industrious and of good iudgement.

Feb. 22.

From this Towne, at our first entrance in the evening on Saterday, our Captaine dispatched a *Symerson* with a token and certaine order to the Master, who had this

this three weekes, kept good watch against the enemye, and shifted in the woods for fresh victuall, for the releefe and recovery of our men left aboard. As soone as this messenger was come to the shoare, calling to our Ship, as bringing some newes, he was quickly set aboard, by those which longed to here of our Captaines speeding: but when he shewed the tooth-pike of gold, which hee said our Captaine had sent for a token to *Edward Hixom*, with charge to meete him at such a Riuer: though the Master knew well the Captaines Tooth-pike: yet by reason of his admonition and caueat giuen him at parting, he (though he bewrayed no signe of distrusting the *Symeron*) yet stood as amazed, least something had befallen our Captaine otherwise then well. The *Symeron* perceiuing this, told him, that it was night when he was sent away, so that our Captaine could not send any letter, but yet with the point of his knife, hee wrote something vpon the Toothpike, which (hee said) should bee sufficient to gaine credit to the messenger.

Thereupon the Master lookt vpon it, and saw written *By me Francis Drake*, wherefore hee beleeued, and according to the message, prepared what prouision he could, and repaired to the mouth of the Riuer of *Tortugos*, as the *Symerons* that went with him then named it.

That after noone towards three a clocke, wee were come downe to that Riuer, not past halfe an houre, before we saw our Pinnace ready come to receiue vs: which was vnto vs all a double reioycing: first that wee saw them, and next so soone: our Captaine with all our Company praised God most hartily, for that we saw our Pinnace and fellowes againe.

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Wee all seemed to these who had liued at rest and plenty all this while aboard, as men strangely changed (our Captaine yet not much changed) in countenance and plight: and indeed our long fasting and sore trauell might somewhat fore-pine and waste vs: but the greefe we drew inwardly, for that we returned without that Gold and Treasure we hoped for, did no doubt shew her print and footesteps in our faces.

Feb. 23.

The rest of our men which were then missed, could not trauell so well as our Captaine; and therefore were left at the Indian new Towne: and the next day we towed to another Riuer in the bottome of the Bay and tooke them all aboard.

Thus being returned from *Panama*, to the great reioycing of our Company, who were throughly reuiued with the report we brought from thence: especially vnderstanding our Captaines purpose, that he meant not to leaue off thus, but would once againe attempt the same iourney, whereof they also might be partakers: our Captaine would not in the meane time suffer this edge and forwardnesse of his men to be dulled or rebazed, by lying still idly vnemployed, as knowing right well by continuall experiences, that no sicknesse was more noysome to impeach any enterprise then delay and idlenesse.

Therefore considering deeply the intelligences of other places of importance thereabouts, which hee had gotten the former yeares: and particularly of *Veragua*, a rich Towne lying to the Westward, betweene *Nombre de Dios* and *Nicaragua*, where is the richest Mine of fine Gold, that is on this North side: he consulted with his company touching their opinions, what was to be done in this meane time, and how they stood affected

affected? Some thought, that it was most necessarie to seeke supply of victuals, that we might the better be able to keepe our men close and in health till our time came: and this was easie to be compassed, because the Frigates with victuall went without great defence, whereas the Frigates and Barkes with Treasure, for the most part were waisted with great Ships and store of Souldiers. Others yet iudged, wee might better bestow our time in intercepting the Frigates of Treasure: first for that our Magasins and Storehouses of victuall were resonably furnished, and the Country it selfe was so plentifull, that euery man might prouide for himselfe if the worst befell: and victuall might hereafter be prouided abundantly as well as now: whereas the Treasure neuer stteth vpon the Sea, so ordinarily as at this time, of the Fleetes being there, which time in no wise may be neglected.

The *Symerons* being demanded also their opinion, for that they were experienced in the particularities of all the Townes thereabouts, as in which, some or other of them had serued: declared that by *Veragua Senior Pezoro* sometimes their Master from whom they fled, dwelt not in the Towne for feare of some surprise, but yet not farre off from the Towne, for his better releefe: in a verie strong house of stone, where he had dwelt nineteene yeares at least, neuer trauelling from home, vnlesse happily once a yeare to *Carthagene* or *Nombre de Dios* when the Fleets were there: hee keepeth a hundred slaues at least in the Mines, each slaue being bound to bring in dayly cleare gaine (all charges deducted) three *Pezoes* of Gold for himselfe and two for his women (eight shillings three pence the *Pezo*) amounting in the whole, to aboute two hun-

dred pound sterling each day : so that hee hath heaped a mightie Masse of Treasure together, which hee keepeth in certaine great Chests of two foote deepe, three broad, and foure long: being, notwithstanding all his wealth, hard and cruell, not onely to his flauces, but vnto all men, and therefore neuer going abroad, but with a Guard of fise or sixe men to defend his person from danger, which he feareth extraordinarily from all creatures. And as touching meanes of compassing this purpose, they would conduct him safely thorow the woods, by the same wayes by which they fled, that he should not need to enter their Hauens with danger, but might come vpon their backes altogether vnlooked for. And though his house were of stone so that it could not be burnt, yet if our Captaine would vndertake the attempt, they would vndermine and ouerthrow, or otherwise breake it open, in such sort as we might haue easie accessse to his greatest Treasure.

Our Captaine hauing heard all their opinions, concluded so; that by deuiding his Company the two first different sentences, were both reconciled, both to be practised and put in vre. *Iohn Oxnam* appointed in the *Beare*, to be sent Eastwards towards *Tolow*, to see what store of victuals would come athwart his halfe, and himselfe would to the Westward in the *Minion*, lie off and on the *Cabezas*, where was the greatest trade and most ordinarie passage of those which transported Treasure from *Veragua* and *Nicaragua* to the Fleet: so that no time might bee lost, nor opportunitie let slip either for victuall or Treasure. As for the attempt of *Veragua* or *Sinior Pezoros* house by land, by marching thorow the woods, he liked not of, least it might
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ouer wearie his men by continuall labour, whom he studied to refresh and strengthen, for his next seruice forenamed.

Therefore vsing our *Symemons* most courteously, dismissing those that were desirous to go to their wiues, with such gifts and fauors as were most pleasing, and entertaining those still aboard his Ships, which were contented to abide with the Companie remaining, the Pinnaces departed as was determined, the *Minion* to the West, the *Beare* to the East.

The *Minion* about the *Cabezas* met with a Frigate of *Nicaragua*, in which was some gold, and a *Genoway* Pilot, of which Nation there are many in those Coasts, which had beene at *Veragua* not past eight dayes before, he being ver well entreated, certified our Captaine of the State of the Towne, and of the Harbor, and of a Frigate that was there ready to come forth within few dayes, aboard in which there was aboue a million of gold offering to conduct him to it, if wee would do him his right, for that he knew the channell very perfectly, so that he could enter by night safely without danger of the sands and shallowes, (though there bee but little water) and vterly vndescried, for that the Towne is fise leagues within the Harbor, and the way by land is so farre about and difficult thorow the woods, that though wee should by any casualtie bee discouered, about the point of the Harbor, yet wee might dispatch our businesse and depart, before the Towne could haue notice of our comming. At his being there hee perceiued they had heard of *Drakes* being on the Coast, which had put them in great feare, as in all other places (*Pezoro* purposing to remoue himselfe to the South Sea) but there was nothing done.

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to preuent him, their frere being so great, that, as it is accustomed in such cases, it excluded Counsell and bred despaire.

Our Captaine conferring with his owne knowledge and former intelligences, was purposed to haue returned to his Ship, to haue taken some of those *Symerons* which had dwelt with *Sinior Pezoro*, to be the more confirmed in this point. But when the *Genoway* Pilot was very earnest, to haue the time gained, and warranted our Captaine of good speed, if wee delaid not, hee dimissed the Frigates somewhat lighter, to hasten her iourney, and with this Pilots aduise, laboured with sayle and oares to get this Harbor and to enter it by night accordingly, considering that this Frigate might now be gained, and *Pezoros* house attempted hereafter notwithstanding.

But when we were come to the mouth of the Harbor, we heard the report of two Chambers, and farther off about a league within the Bay, two other as it were answering them: Whereby our *Genowaise* Pilot coniectured that wee were discovered: for he assured vs, that this order had beenetaken, since his last being there; by reason of the aduertisement & charge, which the Gouvernor of *Panama* had sent vnto all the Coast, which euen in their beds lay in great and continuall feare of our Captaine, and therefore by all likelihood, maintained this kinde of watch, at the charge of the rich *Gnusse Pezoro*, for their securitie.

Thus being defeated of this expectation, we found that it was not Gods will that wee should enter at that time: the rather for that the winde, which had all this time beene Easterly, came vpto the Westward, and inuited vs to retorne againe to our Ship, where on Sheere
Thursday

Thurſday we met according to appointment with our *Beere*, and found that ſhee had beſtowed her time to more profit then we had done: For ſhee had taken a *Fregat* in which there were ten men, whom they ſet a ſhoare, great ſtore of *Malt*, 28. fat Hogs, and 200. Hens. Our Captaine diſcharged this *Fregate* of her lading, and becauſe ſhe was new, ſtrong, and of a good mould the next day hee ſallowed her to make her a man of warre: diſpoſing all our Ordnance and prouiſions that were fit for ſuch uſe in her. For we had heard by the Spaniards laſt taken, that there were two little Gallies built in *Nombre de Dios*, to waite the *Chagro* Fleete to & fro, but were not yet boath lunched: wherefore he purpoſed now to aduenture for that Fleete. And to hearten his compaany he feaſted them that Eaſter-day with great cheere and cheerefulneſſe, ſetting vp his reſt vpon that attempt.

March.

20.

The next day with the new ſallowed *Fregate* of *Tolon* and his *Beare*, we ſet ſaile towards the *Catuaas*, where about two dayes after we landed, and ſtayed while noone: at what time ſeeing a ſayle to the Weſtwards, as we deemed making to the Iland: we ſet ſayle and plyed towards him, who deſcrying vs, bare with vs, till he perceiued by our confidence, that we were no Spaniards, and coniectured that we were thoſe Engliſhmen, of whom they had heard long before. And being in great want, and deſired to be relieued by vs, he bare vp vnder our Lee, and in token of amitie, ſhot off his Lee Ordnance which was not vnanswered.

March.

21.

Wee vnderſtood that he was *Tetin* a french Captaine of *New-hauen*, a Man of war as we were: deſirous to be releued by vs. For at our firſt meeting the French Captaine caſt abroad his hands, and prayed our Captaine to helpe him to ſome water, for that he had nothing but Wine and Cider aboard him, which had brought his men into great ſickneſſe. He had fought vs cuer ſince hee firſt heard of our being vpon the Coaſt, about this ſixe weekes. Our Captain ſent one aboard him with ſome reliefe for the preſent willing him to follow vs to the next Port, where he ſhould haue both water and victualle. At our comming to anchor he ſent our Captain a caſe of piſtols, and a faire guilt Symeter, (which had bene the late Kings of *France*, whom *Monſieur Montgomery* hurt in the eye, and was giuen him by *Monſieur Stroffe*) our Captain requited him with a chaine of Gold, and a Tablee which he wore. This Captain reported vnto vs the firſt newes of the Maſſacre at *Paris*, at the King of *Nauarres* Mariage on *S. Bartholomewes* day laſt, of the Admiral of *France* ſlaine in his Chamber, & diuers other murthers: ſo that he thought thoſe Frenchmen the happieſt that were fartheſt from *France*, now no longer *France* but *Frenſie*, euen as if all *Gaul* were turned into *Worme-wood* and *Gall*: *Italian* praſtiſes hauing ouer-maſtered the French ſimplicities. He ſhewed what famous and often reports he had heard of our great riches: he deſired to know of our Captain which way hee might compaſſe his voyage alſo, Though we had him in ſome iealouſie and diſtruſt, for all his pretence, becauſe we conſidered more the ſtrength he had, then the good will he might beare vs: yet vpon conſultation among our ſelues, whether it were fit to receiue him or no: we reſolued to take him and 20 of his

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men,

men; to serue with our Captaine for halfes: in such sort as we needed not doubt of their forces, being but twentie, nor be hurt by their portions, being no greater then ours: and yet gratifie them in their earnest suite, and serue our owne purpose, which without more helpe we could very hardly haue atcheiued. Indeede he had seauentie men, and we now but thurty one. his Ship was aboute eighty Tun, and our Fregat not past twentie, our Pinnacle nothing neerer then Tun: yet our Captaine thought this proportionable, in consideration that not number of men, but qualitie of their judgments and knowlrdge, were to be the principall astors herein: and the French Ship could doe no seruice, nor stand in any steed to this enterprise which we intended, and had agreed vpon long before, both touching the time when it should take beginning, and the place where we should meet, namely at *Rio Francisco*. Having thus agreed with Captaine *Tetu*, we sent for the *Symerons* as before was decreed: two of them were brought aboard our Ships, to giue the French assurance of this agreement, And as soone as we could furnish our selues and refresh the French company, which was within five or six dayes (by bringing them to the Magazine which was the neerest, where they were supplied by vs in such sort, as they protested they were beholding to vs for all their liues) taking 20. of the French and fiftene of ours with our *Symerons*, leauing both our Ships in safe Roade, we mand our Fregat and two Pinnaces (we had formerly sunke our *Lyon*, shortly after our returne from *Panama*, because we had not men sufficient to man her) and went towards *Rio Francisco*, which because it had not water enough for our Fregat, caused vs to leaue her at the *Cabezas* mand with English and French, in the charge of *Robert Noble*, to stay there, without attempting any chase, vntill the returne of our Pinnaces. And then beare to *Rio Francisco*, where both Captaynes landed with such force as aforesaid, and charged them that had the charge of the Pinnaces, to be there the fourth day next following without any faile. And thus knowing that the cariages went now daily from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios*, we proceeded in couert through the woods, towards the high way that leadeth betwene them. It is five leagues accounted by Sea, betwene *Rio Francisco* and *Nombre de Dios*, but that way which we marched by land, we founde aboute leauen leagues. We marched as in our former journey to *Panama*, both for order and silence, to the great wonder of the French Captaine & Company, who protested they knew not by any means how to recouer the Pinnaces, if the *Symerons* (to whom what our Capaine commanded was a law) though they little regarded the French, as hauing no trust in them) should leaue vs: our Captaine assured him, there was no cause of doubt of them of whom he had had such former tryall. When we were come within an English mile of the way, we stayed all night, refreshing our selues in great stillnes in a most convenient place, where we heard the Carpenters, being many in number working vpon their Ships, as they vsually doe by reason of the great heat of the day, in *Nombre de Dios*, & might heare the Moyses coming from *Panama*, by reason of the aduantage of the ground. The next morning vpon hearing of the great

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number of Bells, the *Symers* reioyced exceedingly, as though there could not haue befallen them a more ioyfull accident, chiefly hauing beene disappointed before. Now they all assured vs, we should haue more gold and siluer then al of vs could bear away, as in truth it fell out. For there came three *Recoes*, one of fifty *Moyles*, the other two of seauenty each, euery of which caryed 300. pound waight of siluer, which in all amounted to neere thirty Tun. We putting our selues in readinesse, went downe neere the way to heare the Bels, where we stayed not long, but we saw of what mettall they were made, and tooke such hold on the heads of the foremost and hindmost *Moyles*, that all the rest stayed and lay downe as their maner is. These three *Recoes* were guarded with fortie five *Souldiers* or there abouts, fifteene to each *Reco*, which caused some exchange of Bullets and Arrowes for a time, in which conflict the French Captaine was fore wounded with hayle-shot in the belly, and one *Symeron* slaine: but in the end these *Souldiers* thought it the best way to leaue their *Moyles* with vs, and to seeke for more helpe abroad: in which meane time we tooke some paine to ease some of the *Moyles*, which were heauiest loaden of their cariages. And being wearie wee were contented with a few bars and quoits of gold, as we could well cary: burying about fifteen Tun of siluer, partly in the boroughs which the great *Landcrabs* had made in the earth, and partly vnder old trees which are fallen thereabout, and partly in the sand and grauell of a Riuer, not very deepe of water. Thus when about this businesse we had spent some two houres, and had disposed of all our matters, and were ready to march backe, the very selfesame way that we came, we heard both horse and foote comming as it seemed to the *Moyles*, for they neuer followed vs, after we were once entred the Woods: where the French Captaine by reason of his wound, not able to trauell farther, stayed, in hope that some rest would recouer him better strength. But after we had marched some two leagues, vpon the French *Souldiers* complaint, that they missed one of their men also, examination being made whether he were slaine or no: it was found that he had drunke much Wine, and ouerlading himselfe with pillage, and hasting to goe before vs had lost himselfe in the Woods. And as we afterwards knew, he was taken by the Spaniards that euening, and vpon torture, discovered vnto them where we had hidden our Treasure. We continued our march all that and the next day, towards *Rio Francisco*, in hope to meet our Pinnaces, but when we came thither, looking out to Sea, wee saw seuen Spanish Pinnaces, which had beene searching all the Coasts thereabout: whereupon wee mightily suspected that they had taken or spoiled our Pinnaces, for that our Captaine had giuen so straight charge, that they should repaire to this place this after-noon from the *Cabezas* where they rode, whence to our sight, these Spaniards Pinnaces did come.

But the night before, there had fallen very much raine, with much westerly winde, which as it enforced the Spaniards to returne home the sooner, by reason of the storme: so it kept our pinnaces, that they could not keepe the appointment, because the wind was contrary, & blew so strong, that with their

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Oares they could all that day get but halfe the way. Norwithstanding, if they had followed our Capt. direction in setting forth ouer-night, while the wind serued, they had arriued at the place appointed with far lesse labor, but with far more danger, because that very day at noone, the *Spanish* Shalops mand our of purpose from *Nombro de Dios*, were come to this place to take our Pinnaces, imagining where we were, after they had heard of our intercepting of the Treasure. Our Captaine seeing the Shallops, feared least hauing taken our Pinnaces, they had compelled our men by torture, to confesse where his Fregat and Ships were. Therefore in this distresse and perplexity, the company misdoubting that all meanes of returne to their Country were cut off, and that their Treasure then serued them to small purpose: our Captaine comforted and encouraged vs all, saying: we should venter no farther then he did, it was no time now to feare: but rather to hatte to preuent that which was feared: if the enemy haue preuailed against our Pinnaces, which God forbid, yet they must haue time to search them, time to examine the Mariners; time to execute their resolution after it is determined, before all these times be taken, we may get to our Ships if yee will, though not possibly by land, because of the Hills, Thickets and Riuer, yet by water. Let vs therefore make a Raft with the trees that are heere in readines, as offering themselues being brought downe the Riuer, happily this last storme, and put our selues to Sea, I will be one, who will be the other? *John Smith* offered himselfe, and two Frenchmen that could swim very well, desired they might accompany our Captaine, as did the *Symeron* likewise (who had beene very earnest with our Captaine to haue marched by land though it were 16. dayes journey, and in case the Ships had beene surprised, to haue aboard alwaies with them) especially *Pedro*, who yet was faine to be left behind, because he could not row. The Raft was fitted and fast bound; a Sayle of a Bisket sacke prepared; an Oare was shaped out of a young Tree to serue in steed of a Rudder, to direct their course before the wind. At his departure hee comforted the Company, by promising, that if it pleased God, he should put his foote in safety aboard his Fregat, he would, God willing, by one means or other get them all aboard, in despite of all the *Spaniards* in the Indies. In this manner putting off to the Sea, the sayled some three leagues sitting vp to the waste continually in water, & at euery surge of the waue to the armes pits, for the space of sixe houres, vpon this Raft, what with the parching of the Sunne and what with the beating of the salt water, they had all of them their skins much fletted away. At length God gaue them the sight of two Pinnaces turning towards them with much wind, but with far greater joy to him; that could easily conjecture, and did cheerfully declare to those three with him, that they were our Pinnaces, and that all was safe, so that there was no cause of feare. But see, the Pinnaces not seeing this Raft, nor suspocing any such matter, by reason of the wind and night growing on, were forced to run into a couer behind the point, to take succour for that night: which our Captaine seeing, and gathering, because they came not forth againe, that they would Anchor there, put his raft ashore, and ran by land about

bout the point, where he found them, who vpon sight of him, made as much
hast as they could to take him and his company aboard. For our Captaine,
of purpose to try what haste they could and would make in extremity: him-
selfe ran in great haste, and so willed the other three with him, as if they had
beene chased by the Enemy: which they the rather suspected, because they saw
so few with him. And after his comming aboard, when the demanding, how
all his Company did: he answered, coldly, well: they all doubted, that all went
scarce well. But he willing to rid all doubts, and fill them with ioy, tooke
out of his bosome a Quoir of Gold, thanking God that our voyage was made.
And to the Frenchmen he declared, how their Captaine indeed was left be-
hind, sore wounded and two of his Company with him: but it should be no
hinderance to them. That night our Captaine with great paine of his Com-
pany, rowed to *Rio Francisco*: where he tooke the rest in, and the Treasure
which wee had brought with vs: making such expedition, that by dawning
of the day, we set sayle backe againe, to our Fregar, and from thence directly
to our ships: where alfoone as we arriued, our Captain deuided by weight, the
Gold and siluer into two euen portions, between the French, and the English.

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About a fortnight after, when we had set all things in order, and taking out
of our Ship all such necessities as we needed for our Fregar, had left and gi-
uen her to the *Spaniards*, whome wee had all this time detain'd, we put out
of that Harbor, together with the French Ship, riding some few dayes among
the *Cabezas*. In the meane time our Captaine made a secret composition
with the *Symérons*, that twelue of our men and sixteene of theirs, should make
another voyage, to get intelligence in what case the Country stood, and if it
might be, recouer Monsieur *Tetu* the French Captaine, at least: wife to bring
away that which was hidden in our former surprize and could not then be
conueniently caried, *Iohn Oxnam* and *Thomas Sherwell* were put in trust for
this seruice, to the great content of the whole Company, who conceiued
greatest hope of them next our captaine, whom by no meanes they would
condiscend to suffer to aduenture againe this time yet he himselfe rowed to
set them ashore at *Rio Francisco*: finding his labour well imployed both other-
wise, and also in sauing one of those two Frenchmen that had remained wil-
lingly to accompany their wounded Captaine. For this Gentleman hauing
escaped the rage of the *Spaniards*, was now comming towards our Pinnace,
where he fell downe on his knees, blessing God for the time that cuer our
Captaine was borne, who now beyond all his hope, was become his deliuerer.
He being demanded what was become of his Captaine and other fellow,
shewed that within halfe an houre after our departure, the *Spaniards* had o-
uergotten them, and tooke his Captaine and other fellow: he onely escaped
by flight, hauing cast away all his carriage, and among the rest one Box of
Jewels, that he might fly the swifter from the pursuers: but his fellow tooke
it vp and burthened himselfe so fore, that he could make no speed, as easily he
might otherwise, if he would haue cast downe his pillage, and laid aside his
couctous mind, as for the siluer, which we had hidden thereabout in the earth
and

and the sands, he thought that it was all gone; for that he thought there had bene nere 1000 Spaniards and Negroes there to dig and search for it. This report notwithstanding, our purpose held, and our men were sent to the said place, where they found that the earth, every way a mile distant had bene digged and turned vp in every place of any likelihood, to haue any thing hidden in it. And yet neuertheless, for all that narrow search, all our mens labour was not quite lost: but so considered, that the third day after their departure; they all returned safe and cheerefull, with as much siluer as they and all the *Symerons* could find, (*viz*: thirteene bars of siluer, and some few quoits of Gold) with which they were presently imbarqued without empachment, repairing with no lesse speed then joy to our Fregat. Now was it high time to thinke of homevvards, hauing sped our selues as we desired: and therefore our Captaine concluded to visit *Rio Grand*, once againe, to see if he could meete with any sufficient Ship or Bark, to cary victuall enough to serue our turne homevvards, in which we might in safety and security imbarque our selues. The French-men hauing formerly gone from vs as soone as they had their shares at our first returne with the Treasure, as being very desirous to returne home into their Country, and our Captaine as desirous to dismisse them, as they were to be dismissed; for that he foresaw they could not in their Ship auoid the danger of being taken by the Spaniards, if they should make out any Men of war for them, while they linged on the Coast, and hauing also bene then againe releued with victuals by vs: Now at our meeting of them againe, were very loath to leaue vs, and therefore accompanied vs very kindly as far vp as *S. Barnards*, and farther would, but that they durst not aduenture so great danger, for that we had intelligence, that the Fleet was ready to set sayle for *Spaine*, riding at the entry of *Carthagena*. Thus we departed from them, passing hard by *Carthagena*, in the sight of all the Fleet, with a Flag of Saint *George* in the maine top of our Fregat, with like streamers and ancients downe to the water, sayling forward with a large wind, till we came within two leagues of the River, being all low land, and darke night: where to preuent the overshooting of the River in the night, we lay off & on bearing small saile, till that about mid. night the wind veering to the Eastward, by two of the clocke in the morning, a Fregat from *Rio Grand* passed hard by vs, bearing also but small sayle. We saluted them with our shot and Arrovves, they answered vs with Bases: but we got aboard them, and tooke such order, that they were content against their wills to depart a shoare and to leaue vs this Fregat which was of twenty five Tun, loaded with Maiz, and Hens and Hogs, and some Honey in very good time fit for our vse: for the Honey especially was a notable releuer and preseruer of our crased people. The next morning as soone as we set those Spaniards a shoare on the maine, we set our course for the *Cabezas* without any stop, whither we came about five dayes after. And being at anchor, presently we houe out all the Maiz aland, saving three Butts which we kept for our store: and carying all our provisions a shoare; we brought

brought both our Fregats on the *Carine*, and new tallowed them. Here we stayed about a seauenight, trimming and rigging our Fregats, boarding and stowing our provisions, tearing abroad & burning our Pinnaces, that the *Symetons* might haue the yron- worke. About a day or two before our departure, our Capitaine willed *Pedro* and three of the chiefeft of the *Symetons* to goe through both his Fregats, to see what they like d, promising to giue it them whatsoeuer it were, so it were not so necessary as that he could not returne into *England* without it. And for their wincs he would himselfe seeke out some silks or linnen that might gratifie them: which while he was choosing out of his Trunkes, the Cymeter which Capitaine *Tern* had given to our Capitaine, chanced to be taken forth in *Pedros* sight, which he seeing grew so much in liking thereof, that he accounted of nothing else in respect of it, and preferred it before all that could be given him: yet imagining, that it was no lesse esteemed of our Capitaine, durst not himselfe open his mouth to craue or commend it: but made one *Francis Tucker*, to be his meane to breake his mind, promising to giue him a fine quoir of gold; which yet he had in store if he would but moue our Capitaine for it, and to our Capitaine himselfe, he would giue foure other great quoirs, which he had hidden, attending to haue rescued them till another voyage. Our Capitaine being accordingly moued, by *Francis Tucker*, could haue been contented to haue made no such exchange, but yet desirous to content him, that had desired so well, he gaue it him with many good words, who receiued it with no litle joy, affirming that if he should giue his wife and children (which he loved dearly) in lieu of it, he could not sufficiently recompence it; (for he would present his King with it, who he knew would make him a great man, even for this very gifts sake) yet in gratitude and steed of other requital of this jewell, he desired our Capitaine to accept these foure peeces of gold, as a token of his thankfulness to him, and a pawne of his faithfulness during life. Our Capitaine receiued it in most kind sort, but tooke it not to his own benefit, but caused it to be cast into the whole aduenture saying, if he had not bene sent forth to that place, he had not attained such a commoditie, and therefore it was just that they which bare part with him of his burthen in setting him to Sea, should enjoy the proportion of his benefit whatsoeuer at his returne.

Thus with good loue and liking we tooke our leaue of that people, setting ouer to the Islands whence the next day after, we set sayle to wards *Cape Saint Anthony*, by which we past with a large wind: but presently being to stand for *th' Hamana*, we were faine to ply to the windward some three or foure dayes: In, which plying we fortun'd to take a small Bark, in which were 10 or three hundred Hides, and one most necessary thing, which stood vsin great steed, viz. a Pumpe, which we set in our Fregat: their Barke, because it was nothing fit for our seruice, our Capitaine gaue them to cary them home. And so returning to *Cape Saint Anthony*, and landing there we refreshed our selues, and besides great store of Turtles egges, found by day in the

we tooke, 200. and 30. Turtles by night: we powdred and

and dreyed some of them, which did vs good seruice, the rest continued but a small time. There were at this time; belonging to *Carthagene*; *Nombre de Dios*; *Rio grand*; *Santa Martha*; *Rio de Maacha*; *Venta Cruz*; *Veragua*; *Nicaragua*; the *Henduras*; *Jamaica* &c. about 200 fregats, some of 120. Tunnes other but of ten or twelue Tun, but the most of thirty or forty Tun, which all had entercouise betweene *Carthagene* and *Nombre de Dios*; the most or which, during our abode in those parts we tooke; and some of them twice or thrice each, yet neuer burnt or sunck any, vnlesse they were made our Men of war against vs, or laid as stales to entrap vs. And of al the men taken in these seuerall vessels; wee neuer offred any kind of violence to any, after they were once come vnder our power, but either presently dismissed them in safety or keeping them with vs some longer time, (as some of them wee did) we alwayes Provided for their sustenance as for our selues, and secured them from the rage of the *Symmons* against them, till at last, the danger of their discouraging where our Ships lay being ouerpast, (for which onely cause we kept them prisoners) wee set them also free. Many strange Birds, Beasts and Fishes, besides Fruits, Trees, Plants; and the like, vvere seene and obserued of vs in this journey, vvhich vvillingly vve pretermit as hasting to the end of our voyage, vvvhich from this Cape of Saint *Anthony*, vve intended to finish, by sayling the directest and speediest vvay homevvard, and accordingly, euen beyond our owne expectation most happily performed, For vvheras our Captaine had purposed to touch at *New-found-land*, and there to haue vvattered, vvvhich vvould haue beene some let vnto vs, though vve stood in great want of vvater, yet God Almighty so provided for vs, by giuing vs good store of raine vvater, that vve were sufficiently furnished: and vvithin twenty three dayes vvee past from the Cape of *Florida*, to the Iles of *Silly*, and so arrived at *Plimouth*; on Sunday about Sermon-time, August the ninth 1573. at what time the newes of our Capitaines returne brought vnto his, did so speedily passe ouer all the Church, and surpasse their minds, with desire and delight to see him, that very few or none remained with the Preacher, all hasting to see the euidence of Gods loue and blessing towards our Gracious Queene and Countrey, by the fruit of our Capitaines labour and successe.

Soli Deo gloria.

FINIS.

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JUNE 17, 1917

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